A CASKET FVLL OF rich Iewels.

For the Ornament, and Adorning, both of the minde and Habite, of the moſt Abſoluteſt Ambaſſador, or profeſſed Stateſt.

Garniſhed with many worthy examples, *moſt ſhort and pithie Hiſtories, and well aduiſed Counſailes concerning Princes, and State buſineſſe.*

8.267.

LONDON.
Printed for *Walter Burre*
1609.

Staveley
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libri

THE AMBAS-SADOR.

Knowe not any of the old Writers that haue purpoſedlie handled this Argument. *Polibius* indeede hath left ſome collections *de Legationibus*, but not *de Legato*. The reaſon in mine opinion is, that none were called ordinarily to this charge but men of great

honour, vertue and experience, attained, by hauing paſſed through the goodlieſt and greateſt charges of the Common wealth, as I will after ſhew.

For, as in olde time there was no puniſhment ordained for *Parricides*, foraſmuch as in thoſe ages of innocencie it could not be thought, that a wickedneſſe ſo monſtrous could enter into the heart of any man : euen ſo the learned Politicians of times paſt, beleeued not that Princes and Eſtates would be ſo indiſcreet, as to honor with an Ambaſſage (which commonly importeth the whole eſtate) a perſon which were not moſt capable thereof: or that he which were not worthy of it, ſhould be ſo ill aduiſed as to vndertake it. To the former, puniſhments were afterwards ordained : and the other, haue neede of good inſtructions; til when, I wil giue them in this Treatiſe, this word of aduiſe.

And, to beginne, I will not ſtay vpon

on ſearching out, either the name *Ambaſſador*, which is ſtrange and vnknowne to vs, or the antiquitie and origine of this charge, the which it is moſt likely had his beginning with the eſtabliſhment of ſocietie amongeſt men, and the aſſembling of people and eſtates the one with the other. When Princes would not, and Commonwealths could not meete together for to treate thereof. Neither will I ſpend time in telling that the name *Ambaſſador* is not ſo general as the Latine word *Legatus*: and is not vnderſtood properly, but of thoſe who vnder the aſſurance of the publike faith, authorized by the law of nations, are employed to negociate with forraine Princes or Commonwealths the affaires of their Maſters, and with dignitie to repreſent their perſons and greatneſſe during their Ambaſſage.

They are of two ſortes: The one which are not but for a little time, and

for one affaire onely, as, for renewing ſome aliance, to ſweare and ratifie a treatie, to congratulate, condole, or to doe like office in the behalfe of their Maſters. Thoſe that goe to preſent obedience to the Pope, in the behalfe of Chriſtian Princes, are of this number, or which goe vpon other affaires not ordinary. For which cauſe they may be named extraordinary *Ambaſſadors*, who returne aſſoone as that affaire is diſpatched. The Romanes and other nations in former ages vſed them in no other maner. The other are ordinary & Ligiers, without hauing any time limitted, but at the pleaſure of the Prince which ſendeth them. And this is that ſorte which is now moſt in vſe, and which antiquity knew not, fearing leſt the long reſidēce of an *Ambaſſador* might diſcouer the ſecrets of the Eſtate. The Pope hath retained the name of *Legate* and *Nuncio*, of which it is not my purpoſe to ſpeake in particular.

As

As touching *Agents*, to whom, at times, is giuen the Title of *Ligiers:* they are in like maner publike perſons, and being once receiued and admitted, they enioy the law of nations, but neither haue place, nor oftentimes power ſo ample as *Ambaſſadors* haue. Such are moſt commonly employed about Princes which will not yeeld to that dignitie which thoſe by whom they are ſent pretend to haue: as thoſe that haue beene about the Emperour of late yeeres for the King, and hee that at this preſent is with the *Archduke* and the *Infanta*, which is *Monſieur de la Boderie*, who much deſerueth the Title of *Ambaſſador*, ſithence he performeth the charge thereof ſo worthily. Thoſe alſo are named *Agents* which mannage the affaires of Princes, not ſoueraigne, and ſuch as are much inferiour to Monarchs and great Common-wealths, for as for thoſe which are ſent by the Prince into his owne Dominions, and

towards his ſubjects, they are called Commiſſioners: like as they are named Deputies, whom ſubjects ſend vnto their Soueraigne: who yet doe not enioy this law of nations and priuiledges of an Ambaſſador. *Ius externo non ciui quæſitum eſt*, ſaith *Titus Liuius*. But indeede Heralds doe, whoſe perſons are vnuiolable, euen in the middeſt of Armies, as well as thoſe of Ambaſſadors, although that properly and moſt commonly they are but Meſſagers, carying barely ſome word of mouth or letter, without authoritie to treate of any matter: as alſo Drummes, Trumpets, and ſuch like perſons in time of warre, who neuertheleſſe deſerue not this title and dignitie of Ambaſſador.

The Romans had alſo an other forme of Ambaſſage, contrary to the ancient law, *Ne quis ſua rei ergo legatus fiet*, the which was called *Libera legatio*, which was to grace perſons of qualitie going towards forraine countries, or

or into ſome Prouinces of the Empire for their owne affaires and particular buſineſſes, to be thereby the more reſpected, and vnder the fauour of the law of nations: as likewiſe thoſe were to whom they would not doe the vttermoſt diſgrace of an Exile: and this was called *Honeſta legatio*, which *Tacitus* ſaith, that *Tiberius* vſed towardes the miſerable *Agrippa* for to ridde him farre off from the Court.

It ſeemeth alſo that there may be ſet in the number of Agents and Ambaſſadors, the Conſuls which ouerſee the affaires of Merchants, Townes, and Corporations in *Argier*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, and other places of *Barbarie* and *Turkie*. Foraſmuch as the Prince alloweth of their nomination, authoriſeth and recommendeth them by his letters; & for that for want of Ambaſſadors they giue aduiſes, and ſometimes ſupplie their charges, as ſome haue done with very good ſucceſſe, as

hath beene ſeene in our time in ſome places. The Venetians haue their Conſulls in *Cario*, at *Aleppo*, *Roſetta*, *Alexandria*, and other townes and hauens of importance: Which is a great commoditie vnto them, for beſides the intelligence which they haue from time to time of the prices of all ſortes of merchandize, they receiue alſo by the ſame meanes newes from all parts of the world. Wherein they exceede all other Eſtates and Commonwealths.

His Behauiour.

TO come then vnto our Ambaſſador, and principally to that whom we haue called Ordinary and Ligier: albeit that the principall moſt generall and ordinary ſubiect of his Ambaſſage be for entertainment of alliances and

and amitie with the Prince or the Eſtate to whom he is ſent: yet there are many other occaſions of his ſending which is needeleſſe here to articulate, the ſame being infinite, according to the diuerſitie of treaties and affaires which are betweene Princes and Commonwealths. In ſome countries they ſpeake onely of money and leuying of forces: in others, of ſea matters, trafficke and commerce, in others of breaches of treaties, of inrodes and riottes on frontires. Furthermore, in ſome Eſtates there are Monarkes, others are gouerned by Lords, the laſt by the people, ſo that, according to the qualitie of theſe gouernementes, and nature of the affaires, it is requiſite to make choiſe of Ambaſſadors that may be fitting to the place and Prince to whom they are appointed. And not onely becauſe of this diuerſitie of Eſtates and negotiations, but alſo by reaſon of the difference of humours, condi-

conditions,and religion of Princes and people, towards whom they are employed: it being very certaine,that one that is a Proteſtant ſhould not be ſo fit to be about the Pope nor the King of *Spaine :* but contrariewiſe, one of that profeſſion (if the Kings ſeruice ſo require) ſhould be more acceptable in *England, Scotland, Denmarke,*and with the proteſtant Princes of *Germanie,* whereof the Queene of *England* willed me to carry word to the King, during the ſiege of *Paris,* by occaſion of a Gentleman of qualitie which had bin ſent to the proteſtant Princes of *Germany,*and was not welcome vnto them. Likewiſe muſt they ſhunne the like ieaſt that was made of a Biſhop ſent to the *Grand Signior,* and of a Gentleman held for a great good Chriſtian, who was appointed Ambaſſador to the Pope, for it was ſaid that the one would conuert the Turke, and the other ſhould be conuertedby the Pope.

In

In ſome Eſtates they conſider much the qualitie of the Ambaſſador, and make the leſſe account of him, it he be not a gentleman of nobilitie, or at leaſt wel qualified, liberall and honorable.

Some other Princes and Eſtates had rather haue one that profeſſeth the Lawes: as at *Venice* (none hath of long time bin there ſo acceptable as *Monſieur de Maiſſe Hurault* one of the chiefe Counſellors of this Eſtate. I doubt not but that the Pope would be content to haue rather a Biſhop or ſome other Church-man neere him: Neuertheleſſe I vnderſtand that the Spaniardes haue perceiued that it was more neceſſarie for the ſeruice of their Maiſter, that the Ambaſſador were of ſome other qualitie, bicauſe Eccleſiaſticall perſons make a very ſtrict oath vnto the Pope and the Church, which derogateth from the naturall fidelitie which all ſubiects owe vnto their Soueraigne.

How-

Howſoeuer it be, the Romans ſent none for Ambaſſadors that had not paſſed through the greateſt parte of the degrees of honour and magiſtracie: and ſometimes they were the Conſulls themſelues: not ſo much for the honour of the Prince to whome they were ſent, as for the greatnes and maieſtie of the commonwealth. *Philip de Comines* complaineth, that his Maiſter King *Lewes* the eleuenth employed therein ordinarily his Barber. Other Princes make no difficultie to ſend the Groomes of the Chambers, Cloake-bearers,. and others of baſer ſort vnto the greateſt Princes of Chriſtendome. And God knoweth how they handle many times the affaires of their Maiſters. He therefore that appoynteth an Ambaſſador, ought to looke well heerevnto, and eſpecially to the ſexe, to the age, and to the diſpoſition of him to whome hee is ſent. For hee that would giue commiſſion

to

to an olde and melancholie man to treate of a marriage with a yoong Princeſſe, and make loue vnto her in the behalfe of his Maiſter (a thing which moſt commonly amongſt the Great is done by an Atturney) it is very certain, that naturally ſhe would not ſo willingly ſee or heare him as one that were more youthfull and gallant. I haue ſometime ſeene the experience thereof. This choyce being of greater importance than one woulde beleeue, and wherein notwithſtanding there is oftneſt failing. A neighbour Prince ſent a while ſithence, a man of an ill grace to a great Lady of *France* for this purpoſe: who effected nothing of conſequence therein. Such a one muſt bee a man acceptable, for the better managing the diſpoſition of him with whom he hath to deale.

But much more in extraordinarie Ambaſſadors, and thoſe which go not but for one affaire, as if it be a matter con-

concerning warre, it is fitter to commit it to a Marſhall of *France*, or ſome other Generall of the field, and practized in points of armes. To Generall Counſailes it were ridiculous to ſend others than Eccleſiaſticall perſons, diuines, and men ſeene in the Lawes. And where queſtion ſhould be of the right of ſucceſſion, of marches, repriſalls, of other difficulties of right, there are men meet for the ſame, and which would better ſerue their Maiſter therin then eyther a Churchman or a martiall man. But if it be for the renuing of an aliance, conducting of ſom princeſſe, or any other ſolemn action conſiſting moſt in ceremony and magnificence, it is meeteſt to commit the charge and honor thereof to a Prince or Lord of quailitie and meanes.

Moreouer, there are many other things to be conſidered in the perſon of an Ambaſſador, of which I will note ſome (not to make a perfect *Idea*

dea of an Ambaſſador, as *Taſſo*, *Magio*, *Gentilis* and ſome others haue labored to do.) For as once one ſaid of *Platoes* Common-wealth, that the *Idea* thereof was in heauen: ſo the perfect image of an Ambaſſador, ſuch as they haue figured vnto vs, was neuer amongſt men, for they would haue him to be a *Diuine*, *Aſtrologer*, *Logician*, an excellent Orator, as learned as *Ariſtotle*, and as wiſe as *Salomon*.

But for me, I require no more of him than hee may attaine vnto by vſe and nature. True it is, that I wiſh he were ſeene in all, by reaſon of the diuerſitie of affaires which are handled in his charge. The which hee cannot be, if he haue not ſeene and trauelled abroade, if hee haue not ſome experience, and eſpecially the knowledge of Hiſtories, which I finde to bee more neceſſary for him than any other ſtudy: and that formerly he haue beene employed in ſome other charges or affaires

affaires of eſtate, if it were but onely to haue more aſſuredneſſe when hee commeth to ſpeake in publike : for as it ſhall appeare by the proceſſe of the diſcourſe, an ambaſſage is as it were an abridgement of the principaleſt charges and offices that are exerciſed in the common-wealth : So alſo would I haue him rich, not only in the goods of the minde, but alſo in the goods of fortune, at leaſt, in ſome indifferent ſort. For, beſides that a great pouertie is alwaies ſuſpected, he being ſo, it is very hard for him to holde that dignitie which he ought to repreſent; their Maſters being not alwayes very carefull to make them due prouiſion; and the Romans many times refuſed ſuch perſons in the exerciſe of the chiefeſt charges of their Common-wealth.

To ſpeake of Sciences more particularly, I know that many haue managed the like and greater charges without any learning, and that vnto diuers men

men it hath ſorted well. But I maintain that mẽ of lerning are much more capable thereof, know how to ſpeake better, and anſwer euery man, to iudge of the iuſtnes of a warre, of the equitie of all pretences, and demaunds, to beware of being deceued in treaties and negotiations of peace, alliance or mariage, whereabouts ſuch men are moſt commonly emplored,) to weigh their reaſons beſt, to reſolue any ſubtile concluſions or ſophiſtications, and to diſcourſe of all things, either graue or familiar: and to ſpeake in a worde, hee is more to bee blamed that commeth vnto it without this qualitie, than hee were to be praiſed, if hee brought vnto it, all theſe neceſſarie qualities with him. At leaſt I will counſell him, during the time of his Ambaſſage, to furniſh himſelfe with as much thereof, as his leiſure will permit him: although (to ſay true) it is very late to dig a well, when one is thirſty, or to make armor,

when it is time to fight : Aboue all, let him not make ſhew that hee deſpiſeth men of learning, but ſtill accounting of men of knowledge and experience, which in all well policied eſtates are cheriſhed.

I find then that among the parts of Philoſophie, he ought to haue knowledge of the *Morall and Politike :* and if before he haue had any taſte of the *Roman Ciuill Law*, the ſame would giue him more inſight and facilitie to the negotiation of treatie and clearing many matters that fall out in diuerſe places : as for example, of the right of the ſucceſſion of Princes, of the difference of the borders, of taking booties of Priſoners, Repriſals, and of Sea matters, whereof moſt commonly queſtion ariſeth in *England*, *Denmarke*, *Holland*, and other partes ſtanding on the Sea, or of ſome obſcuritie, ambiguitie, and difficultie of clauſes and articles of a treatie. Aboue all, he ought not

not to be ignorant of the Lawes, cuſtoms & maners of his owne country, ſpecially in things concerning the Eſtate, the rights, titles, and pretences of his Maiſters Crowne, and the vſurpations that other Princes haue made vpon his eſtate. Whervnto the knowledge of hiſtories wil greatly help him; which beſides the pleaſure of it, will bring him alſo this commoditie, that it will encreaſe in him, wiſedome and iudgement in the affairs of his charge. Will enable him againſt all chances. Will bring him to the knowledge of the origine, continuance and ruine of kingdomes, countries, and townes, which haue no remainder of their glorie, but the name onely. Will make him that he bee not aſtoniſhed at any thing that hee heareth read or ſpoken, conſidering that hiſtories will furniſh him with many examples of like accidents. It being a ſhamefull thing to a man of his ſorte to wonder at all that

is ſpoken. For wondring is the daughter of ignorance, and they are alwayes children which know not that which was done before their time.

Laſtly, *Eloquence* is of ſuch force, and ſo important in ſuch a charge, that if he be endewed therewith, either by art or nature, he will make himſelfe very gratious, be it that he ſpeak vnto the Prince, to the Counſaile, or in publike (as the vſe is in popular eſtates) or that he entertaine his frends in priuat. And in many places Ambaſſadors are called Orators. But to ſpeake wel, in good frame, and good termes, it ſhal be expedient that hee firſt write and poliſh that which hee hath to ſay in publike. (*Parato quid vnquam defecit?*) Yet without ſeruile tying himſelf, to learne by heart his owne ſpeech, leſt it befall him, as many times it dooth vnto ſchoole boies. If he know the language of the Countrie where he is, it will be a great furtherance vnto him, to the more

more perfect vnderſtanding of the hiſtories and affaires of that eſtate. *Cicero* ſaith (*Sumus ſurdi omnes in linguis quas non intelligimus.*) It is al one to be deaf, and not to vnderſtand what is ſaide.) Neuertheleſſe many without this qualitie haue not failed to performe their charge well and worthily. And although he knew the language, I had rather that he ſhould faine, not to vnderſtand it: for ſo hath he the more aduantage to ſpeake and negotiate in his owne language : or at leaſt in Latine which is common vnto all, as they do iu *Germany*, *Polonia*, and other countries. His ſpeech muſt be graue, briefe, and ſignificant, without employing many alegations, as a Maiſter of Arte would doe, or of woordes borrowed, and out of vſe, whereby I haue ſeene many falter through affectation : And he muſt, as much as may be, accommodate himſelf to the faſhion of the prince and people to whom he ſpeaketh : for

he that would mignionize and painte out his ſpeeches in *Suiſſerland* or *Holland*, ſhould do that which were ridiculous and ſuperfluous. Princes, and almoſt all Great men and military men loue not great ſpeakers, nor long diſcourſes; and an olde writer hath verie well obſerued in the diſpoſition of the Frenchman, that hee giueth himſelfe chiefly to the profeſſion of armes, and to a briefe & ſubtile form of ſpeaking, *Duas res*, ſaith hee, *accuratè norunt, rem militarem, & argutè loqui.* Euen ſo the King that now is, being tyred with the long diſcourſe of a Lorde lately come out of *Italy*, ſaide vnto him, I know very well that you come out of the Countrie of faire wordes. In a woord, if an Ambaſſador haue not this guift of ſpeaking well, and that hee ſtop or ſtutter in his deliuerie, beſides that happily he ſhall do no great good in his Ambaſſage, he ſhalbe oftentimes the ieſt of Courtiers. And if his ſpeeches

ches be too long; he may haue ſuch an anſwere as thoſe of *Lacedemon* made to the Samnites. That they had forgotten the beginning, vnderſtood not the middle, and diſliked the Concluſion.

Theſe are very neerely the ſciences which I iudge the moſt requiſite, and which are, in mine opinion, the eaſieſt, and the which, or the greater parte of them, hee may learne in the places of his charge, if he be reſident there for ſome yeares, all the other will not bee vnprofitable for him. But hee muſt haue beſides theſe, other vertues and qualities, as wel gotten by practiſe, as borne with him, for better performing his Ambaſſage: and which are ſo much the more neceſſarie for him, in that hee repreſenteth the greatnes of his prince in a forraine Countrie, and in the view of the worlde, and for that the faultes which he committeth are many times cauſe of the contempt of his Maiſter,

or of ſome worſer conſequence. For firſt al men agree in this, that he ought to be endewed with a good naturall vnderſtanding, ioyned with a long experience of the affaires of the worlde, which makes that a yongman is not ſo capable of this charge, as one of old or middle age. For which cauſe, *Philip de Comines* ſaid, it was very hard for a man to be wiſe that had not bin deceiued. (Neuertheleſſe ſometimes a good ſpirit diſgraceth the age & experience of many others, witneſſe *Monſieur de Beaumont Hartay*, who doth the King ſo good ſeruice in this charge of Ambaſſador in *England.*) Neuertheles an olde man is ordinarily melancholie and diſeaſed, and a yong man, too humorous, light, and indiſcreete. As one that was ſent to certaine Alies of this Crowne, who walked abroade in the euening and part of the night through the ſtreetes, with others of his owne age, and in his doublet and hoſe, playing

ing on a Bandore : although otherwiſe he was a man of a good ſpirit.

Touching the wiſedome of our Ambaſſador, it wil be diſcerned, firſt of all, if he bring with him theſe requiſite qualities whereof I haue ſpoken, and ſuch things as are neceſſary for the occaſions of his charge : vnleſſe that the Prince haue made him to vndertake it on a ſodaine, and by expreſſe commandement, without giuing him leaſure to aduiſe himſelf, as many times it falleth out. For, if hee haue not the goods of fortune, or hath not otherwiſe prouided to cauſe a good allowance to be made him : hee will be accounted indiſcreete to haue embarked himſelfe in a charge of ſo great expence. And for the gifts of nature, if he be bleare-eyed, crookebackt, lame, or otherwiſe miſhaped, it is certaine, that he will not be ſo acceptable. One of the old writers ſaith, that in thoſe ill proportioned and vitious bodies, the

ſoule

ſoule is ill lodged. And the Romanes hauing on a time ſent two Ambaſſadors to one of their Prouinces, of which one had vpon his head the skars of many wounds, and the other was lame of his feete, it was ſaid in a mockery. *Mittit populus R. legationem quæ nec caput nec pedes habet.* An Ambaſſage that hath neither head nor feete. Likewiſe if it be poſſible let him not be much inferiour in meanes or qualitie to him whom he ſucceedeth, leſt he finde at his doore. *O antiqua domus.* Alas poore houſe that haſt made a change of maiſters, as it hapned (to my knowledge) vnto one that ſucceeded in the houſe and place of an Ambaſſador that had beene very liberall and bountifull: for there was nothing ſo cold as his Kitchin, nor ſo bare as his ſtable. Farther, that he knew how to make good choiſe of his traine and houſhold ſeruants: wherevnto hee ought eſpecially to take heede, that he fall

fall not into the inconuenience that ſome haue done, who hauing ſorted themſelues with indiſcreete and vnciuil ſeruants, haue themſelues payed for their folly. An aduice which *Mouſieur de Bellieure* (who hauing bin oft times honoured with this charge, in which he made his firſt practize among the Griſons, hath at length attained, by the ſteppes of honour and deſert, to the dignitie of Chancellor of *France*) giueth vnto Ambaſſadors going vppon their charges, according to that which *Cicero* ſaid vnto his brother then Gouernour of *Aſia* in like caſe, *Horum non modo facta ſed dicta etiam omnia tibi præſtanda ſunt*. Thou muſt be the warrant both of their actions, yea and of the very words alſo. And a little after, *Si innocentes exiſtimari volumus non ſolum nos abſtinentes verumetiam noſtris comites præſtare debemus*. To make our vprightneſſe appeare, it is not enough that we be diſcreete, but euen

our

our followers muſt be ſo alſo. And to ſay trueth, for that which is in the choyce of a man, hee can not impute it to any other, but muſt lay the blame on himſelfe, if he haue not done it wel. It fell out ill in this poynt with the Lord of *Camcy* ſent, on the behalfe of the King to the Duke of *Burgundie*, in the yeare 1417. through too much confidence in his Secretary, who either of indiſcretion, or corruption, had made manie copies of his maſters inſtructions, to be ſeene abroad, and diſcouered the ſecrets of his commiſſion: for which cauſe the maſter was blamed by the Kings counſaile, and ſent to take vp his lodging in the *Baſtile*.

Amongeſt the Officers of his houſe, the moſt neceſſary, and in choyce of whom hee ought to be moſt carefull, are, the Secretaries, and the Steward of the houſe. The one for to aſſiſt and eaſe him in the buſineſſes of his charge, to diſpatch cauſes that concerne the ſame,

ſame, and to hold a good regiſter ther-
of, to keepe faithfully the ſcroles, cy-
phers, and other papers of importance,
(which neuertheleſſe would be better
vnder the maiſters locke) the other for
the expenſes of the houſe, which ought
to be well ordered, and neuertheleſſe
honorable in euery part therof, chiefly
at the table and kitchin, whereuppon
ſtrangers and eſpecially thoſe of the
Northerne countries looke more then
vpon all other expences beſides. In
Spaine and *Italie* the table is more fru-
gale: But there it muſt appeare in
horſes, coaches, apparrell, and traine
of followers. And I will ſay this by the
way, ſithence that the moſt proper,
and moſt eſſentiall vertue of a Prince is
to be liberall, hee that repreſenteth his
greatneſſe amongſt ſtrangers, dooth
him iniury, and getteth himſelfe an e-
uill name, if hee be ſparing and wret-
ched: it ſeeming incredible to moſt
men, that a great King, or other Soue-

raigne

raigne would appoint him to that place without allowing him meanes ſufficient, and are mooued to thinke, that he keepeth vp, and turneth to his owne vſes, the monies of his allowance. There haue beene ſome in our time, who by their ſparing and baſeneſſe, ſeemed rather to goe to profite themſelues, and make a gaine; whereas this charge conſiſteth wholy on honour, and was in times paſt giuen, to honor thoſe which had done good ſeruice to the Commonwealth: ſo that it ought not to be purchaſed by bribes, nor too much ſought after, whereby to auoyde the ſuſpition of couetouſneſſe. Neuertheleſſe, in this his liberall expence he muſt vſe his diſcretion in not exceeding too farre his ordinary exhibition, and eſpecially that thereby he belie not falſly the occaſion of his Ambaſſage. For I haue ſeene thoſe which haue failed in both, and it hath bin told them, that they named themſelues the Ambaſſadors

dors of miſery (for they came to craue ſuccours of men and mony) and yet were in their expences as if their maſter had poſſeſſed the *Indies*. And here it is that an argument from the leſſe to the great may be made: how ſhall he performe a charge of importance, that knoweth not howe to guide his houſe and order his expence?

Furthermore, he ſhall manifeſt his wiſedome in this, if when hee hath receiued order to departe, he take inſtructions ſufficiently ratified for whatſoeuer he hath to ſay or negotiate, that he may not be diſallowed for any thing that he ſhall haue ſaid, treated, or concluded, as it hath befalne vnto ſome that haue after repented it, whereof I will ſpeake a word hereafter. He muſt alſo inſtruct himſelfe by the mouth of him that was next before him in this charge: vnleſſe that his predeceſſor do inſtall him himſelfe, and at his induction doe communicate vnto him all ſuch

ſuch treaties, remembrances, and papers as are neceſſary, and do ſufficiently enforme him of all. And becauſe Secretaries of Eſtate giue not ſo often intelligences to the Ambaſſador, nor alwayes ſend him aduice of that which paſſeth at Court and in the Eſtate, ſo often as he gladly would: and that it ſhould many times be expedient to haue aduertizement thereof, becauſe of the falſe rumors which are ordinarily ſpread by the enimies of an Eſtate, eſpecially in time of warre: and that it is a ſhame to an Ambaſſadour, that ſtrangers ſhould know the newes of his countrie before him, hee ſhall doe very well to haue ſome friend in court which may aduertize him often of that which is done, yea, euen to the leaſt particularities, by which many times, he may iudge of matters of importance.

The griefe wherein I haue ſeene *Monſieur de Sillary Brulart* in *Swiſſerland*

land, and in *England*, *Monſieur de Beaunoir la Nocle*, and many others elſewhere : (Indeed it was in the hotteſt of the troubles) maketh mee to giue this aduice to thoſe that goe on Ambaſſage, and that they ought not to ſpare two or three hundred crownes a yeere this way, if neede require.

Furthermore that man is vndiſcreet, that through raſhneſſe throweth himſelfe into the danger of his enemy. Neither will I counſaile any to goe on ambaſſage towards that Prince whom he hath offended in word or deede : for Princes doe ſeldome forget an iniury, and are patient to awaite a fit time to reuenge themſelues. At the leaſt, it is very likely, that hee ſhall neuer performe his Maiſters buſineſſes ſo well with ſuch a one. Beſides, it is not meete to commit this charge to him that hath beene ſpotted with any crime or publike reproach : Nor vnto him that is the ſubiect of that Prince to whom he

is ſent : for in this behalfe it be fell out ill with the Eſquire *Merueilles* at *Millan*, of whom *Guicciardine* and *du Bellay* make mention: at leaſt Duke *Sforza* gaue his excuſe in paiment as I will ſhew anon. It being both more commodious and more conuenient for the greatneſſe of the maſter, that he which is ſent, bee his naturall ſubiect, not a ſtranger, conſidering that naturally he will vſe therein more care and more fidelitie : and it is a ſhame to make our want to bee knowne in this behalfe, of men able & capable of ſuch a charge: Not but that ſometimes it hath well ſorted when ſtrangers haue beene employed. Aboue all, it is a thing odious and vnſauory to ſend vnto a neighbor Prince a ſubiect of his for Ambaſſador, to whom he will euer doe honor diſcontentedly , remembring what power and authoritie a Prince hath ouer his ſubiects. True it is, that out of this rule priſoners of warre may be excepted

cepted either to negociate the deliuerance of themſelues and their companions, or to treat of ſome good meanes for a peace, truce, or other good occaſion; as hath beene ſeene in the warres betweene the Romans and the Carthaginians, and in thoſe of *France* and *England*.

An other poynt of wiſedome is, to arriue in ſeaſon, and to take occaſion commodiouſly, which I obſerue, becauſe there are ſome, who through the hardneſſe of the ſeaſon, or for the difficultie and dangers of the wayes, or for ſome other light hinderance do deferre the departure, or ſtay by the way: ſo that at their arriuall they finde matters altered, and come as a Phiſitian when one is dead. And to this purpoſe *Suetonius* recounteth how thoſe of *Troy* ſent the Deputies to *Tiberius* to condole the death of his ſonnes, ſeuen or eight moneths after that it happened. And I, ſaide he, am very ſory

for the loſſe which ſometime you had of your noble and valiant countriman *Hector*, and ſo made all the ſtanders by to laugh : for *Hector* died many hundred yeeres before. He muſt alſo preſent himſelfe in due time and place, that there be no ſuſpicion conceiued vpon the cauſe of his comming : as *Titus Liuius* declareth of the *Mirian Ambaſſadors*. Who kept themſelues ſecret a while at *Rome*, waiting peraduenture, for ſome newe inſtructions from their Maiſter : which was a cauſe to make them to bee ſtayed as ſpies : Whereof they had ſomewhat to doe to purge themſelues : *mentitur legationem qui nomen legationis non præfert ſuo tempore* : as a Lawyer ſaith, and an Ambaſſage is held ſuſpected which is not done in due time and place. *Seruius* ſaith, that in olde time amongſt the Romans this order was kept in receiuing ſtrange Ambaſſadors. *Legati ſi quando incogniti venire nunciarentur;*

primo

primo quid vellent ab exploratoribus requirebatur, poſtea ad eos egrediebantur maieſtratus minores & tunc demum Senatus : & ſi ita viſum fuiſſet, admittebantur. But concerning this point of departing in time, in former times the Deputies of the *Rhodians* were accuſed for not departing at the prefixed day towards *Athens* about a matter of importance, whereof grewe ſome inconuenience. They defended and excuſed themſelues throgh the Treaſurers default who had not giuen them the money appoynted vnto them for their voyage, but their replie and reproach was, that for a matter of ſuch importance they ought themſelues to haue diſburſed the mony, rather than to looſe an occaſion which might preiudice the Eſtate; at leaſt, that in due time they ought to haue made their diligence appeare, and to haue proteſted againſt the Treaſurer.

It is not enough to ariue in time a

He muſt, as before I ſaid, preſent him ſelfe and deliuer his Ambaſſage, if it be of any importance, for the lingering of ſome, hath giuen opportunitie to Spies to diſcouer their ſecrets, and the occaſion of well effecting it, is ſo loſt.

Alcibiades vſed like ſubtilitie to the Ambaſſadors of *Lacedemon*, who were made a ieſt of thereby: and many like examples haue, to my knowledge, chanced: vnleſſe that there be a lawfull cauſe why audience ſhould not be demanded, as if hee found the Court in mourning, warre proclaimed, or ſome other accident of importance falne out in the meane time which was not before thought of.

Tacitus ſaith, *Vt initia ſunt, ſpem in extera fore.* It is the principall point to begin well, a thing is halfe done that is well begunne. For which cauſe our Ambaſſador from his firſt arriuall is to giue of himſelfe ſo good an expectation, as that by his grauitie, curteſie, affabilitie

fability, requiſite expences, firſt audience, and eſtabliſhment in his charge he make al men hope of good to come by his Ambaſſage. In like ſort is it in warre and other affaires of the world, that men iudge of the end by the beginning, & he is held wiſe that can diſcreetely raiſe a good opinion of himſelfe from the firſt entrance into his charge. The which hee ſhall doe not onely in reſpect of thoſe of the Country, but alſo towardes his Maiſter by his firſt letters of aduice of the ſtile whereof we will ſpeake a word heereafter. And he ſhall doe moſt wiſely in eſtabliſhing foorthwith his intelligences from all partes following the order of his predeceſſor, adding thereunto, the correſpondencie which hee can haue with his friends, euen to the remoteſt countries: there being no charge whatſoeuer in the Eſtate which hath more neede to know the occurrents of the worlde, as I haue

heard the moſt ſufficient Ambaſſadors to holde : Conſidering that this is done with little charge, and oftentimes with much fruite.

He will make himſelfe held a fitte man, if he can make choice of ſome one to aſſiſt & ſecõd him in his charge if it be ſuch that he haue need therof, as indeed it is hard to be without one, eſpecially in a Country and a charge, wherein he had not bin before as great and able a man as *Scipio* was, yet tooke he with him the learned *Panætius* (others ſay *Lælius*.) True it is, hee ought to take good heede to whom he truſts himſelfe, for ſome from Companions will become Maiſters and Corriualls, and hauing gotten knowledge in the buſineſſes and ſecrets of the charge, do not often handle the ſame diſcreetly. And ſo bring him more hurt than good, and more diſcontentment than comfort. But it is much more grieuous vnto him, whenas for to helpe his

his inſufficiencie, or to haue an eye ouer his doing, there is an aſſiſtant ioyned with him: for in this caſe he looſeth the whole grace, and often times the fruite of his Ambaſſage. The which, as I haue ſaide, hath no other end than *Honour*.

He ought likewiſe to take heed that he receiue not into his family, and amongſt his houſhold ſeruants, thoſe of the country where he is reſident, it being very certaine, that they are ſo many ſpies, except thoſe, of whoſe fidelitie he hath had good proofe, whereof ſome ſuch are found (but very ſeldome.) *Cicero* in the ſame Epiſtle giueth this ſelfe ſame aduice, ſaying that no man ought to communicate himſelfe much vnto them, nor diſcouer the affaires of his charge vnto them, whatſoeuer apparance of affection they vſe: for there hath befallen therby very great inconueniences: the Ambaſſador being otherwiſe ſufficiently

ently lookt into, & his demenor ſifted; likewiſe is he in a place ſo eminent, that his actions cannot be hidden what induſtry ſoeuer hee vſe therein. Much leſſe ought his houſe to ſerue for a retraite vnto the offenders of that eſtate wherein he is, or to perſons that are ſuſpected and odious. I haue ſeene ſome that haue bin maligned and ill intreated for this occaſion, and it is a very tickliſh poynt eſpecially if they be ſubiects of that eſtate where hee beareth his charge: conſidering that in making interceſſion for them, he putteth himſelfe in hazard of receiuing a deniall, from whence a greater miſchiefe may ariſe. I ſpeake not this without cauſe, and the example thereof is freſh.

And to return to thoſe of his houſe, our Ambaſſador not being alwayes able to haue an eye ouer them, as wel by reaſon of his dignitie, as for the affaires of his charge. It ſhalbe the beſt way, if he

he can, to bring his wife with him, whoſe eie wil ſtoppe infinite abuſes amongſt his people, and diſorders in his houſe, vnleſſe hee can truſt therewith ſome one of his owne followers, that may carry an eye and charge ouer the reſt. But if himſelfe be not temperate and ſtayed, hee preſently openeth (by his example) a doore vnto the diſorders of his familie, who will ſooner doe euill by ſeeing him to do euill, then they will doe well by immitating of him: beſides that, hee hath his mouth ſtopt, if hee would reprehend or puniſh them, *Nimium eſt negotij continere eos quibus præſis, niſi te ipſe contineas.* It is a hard labour to make thoſe that are vnder thee to be wiſe, if thou be not ſo thy ſelfe, ſaieth the ſame author in the ſame place. And *Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola* ſaith, *Domum ſuam coercere plerique haud minus arduum eſt, quam prouinciam regere*. And concerning this poynt of temperancie, it is requiſite

ſite, that a man placed in ſuch a charge doe moderate himſelfe in his pleaſures, not only in reſpect of women, but alſo for his mouth, and for play, whereby there hath growen many times, both ſcandale and reproch. There was one ſuch, who being met by night, by the watch of the Citie, receiued the ſhame to be ledde away priſoner: and when hee alleadged his qualitie, it was tolde him very ſtowtly, by one that fained he knew him not: The Ambaſſador of *France* is too wiſe to go ſo by night, without company or torch-light. A while after, a forraine Ambaſſador being then at *Paris*, going by night to viſite a woman, attended onely with a lackey, was ſtayed, and put vnder ſafe-keeping, till the morning that the king (that laſt died) was aduertiſed thereof, who ſent for him, and turned all the matter into a ieaſt.

Aboue all, he ought not to touch the honour of women of good name, for

for husbands and fathers are impatient of ſuch attempts, for which euen kings haue beene driuen from their eſtates, or ſlaine by their owne ſubiects.

Concerning Drunkenneſſe, which *Seneca* caleth a voluntary foly, I maintaine, that in *Germanie*, *Swiſſerland*, *Polonia*, *Denmarke*, and other Countries of the North, he muſt, in ſome ſorte, accommodate himſelfe to drinke with them, it being very certaine, that one is more acceptable vnto them therby: But yet he muſt withal remember the Emperour *Bonoſus*, who ordinarily made forraine Ambaſſadors drunken for to learne their ſecrets. Others haue beene ſlaine amongeſt wine and banqueting. *Herodotus* and *Ioſephus* recite the ſtories thereof. And in truth, wine and ſecrecie, are incompatible thinges, and this fault is ill befitting the dignity of him that repreſentes ſuch a maieſty, *Legatus enim ipſam reipub. faciem ſuam attuliſſe videtur*: As a certaine Author hath

hath learnedly ſaide vppon this Argument.

As for play', I haue ſeene an other that was ſo earneſt vnto it, that thereby hee forgate the buſineſſes of his charge, making many times his Maiſters meſſengers to giue attendaunce, fifteene or twentie dayes for his pleaſure. He ſhall therefore ſo accommodate himſelfe vnto the manners of the country, where he is, that hee neither force his naturall diſpoſition, neither be perceiued to doe it purpoſedly: for the one is ridiculous, and the other ſuſpected and odious.

An other effect of his temperance ſhalbe, not to receiue any gifts and preſents, neither of the Prince to whome hee is ſent, nor of any of his, for any cauſe whatſoeuer, vnleſſe at ſuch time, as hauing taken his leaue, he is ready to take horſe and departe. The Ambaſſadour of *England* ſir *Amias Pawlet*, would not receiue the chaine of golde, which

which the king ſent vnto him, according to the cuſtome, vntill he was halfe a league out of *Paris*: Giftes doe oblige, and thoſe that receiue them, become ſlaues to thoſe that giue them: much more if they take a penſion, or other benefite, in which caſe there wil be either a ſtaine of auarice, or ſuſpition of treaſon, and that is capitall in many places.

But there is nothing more hurtfull to his reputation then vndiſcreete ſpeaking, for there are ſome ſeene who at the table and at euery word, meddle not onely with particular perſons, but with the Princes alſo to whom they are ſent: finde fault with the forme of a popular gouernment: laugh openly at the manners of the nation where they are. This indiſcretion cannot be endured from a priuate man: but it is altogether intolerable from the mouth of an Ambaſſador, who in doing therof, doeth not any longer remember where-

wherefore he is in that charge: ſince that the principall and moſt apparant end thereof is to confirme, as I haue ſaid, and to entertaine the amitie of the Prince or people to whom he is ſent: and I ſhould neede a reſme of paper, to reckon vp the inconueniences that haue befalne throgh ſuch indiſcretion, & the danger that thoſe haue incurred which could not commaund their tongues. I will onely ſay with an ancient Writer: *He that knoweth how to ſpeake well, knoweth alſo when hee muſt hold his peace.* Whereas beſides the tediouſneſſe of much ſpeaking, the ſame hindereth him from hearing of others, and gathering, by that meanes, the truth of ſuch matters as hee ought to know in his charge. The Lord *Cecill* high Treaſurer of *England* had this dexteritie, that he left not one at his table, whom he did not reaſon with, and heare ſpeake at their turnes. And concerning thoſe which ſpeake not the lan-

language, the ſame may and ought to be doone by an interpreter, who is preſent for that effect: eſpecially in popular Eſtates, where the leaſt will be reſpected as well as the greateſt. Neither can I forbeare to ſpeake of thoſe who ſpare not euen their maiſter, and their owne nation: theſe defaults wherof they diſcouer by their talke, and by the ſame meanes confirme that opinion which ſtrangers haue thereof. Our country is our mother, we ought not to reueale the ſhame thereof, and we ought to be as iealous thereof as of our owne honour: for it is ill befitting to a ſeruant to touch the honour of his maiſter, to publiſh the ſecrets of his Court, to controle his pleaſures, and blame his actions; eſpecially hee muſt take heede, that he ſpeake not in publike what hee iudgeth touching the right of his pretences towards any Eſtate: for either hee muſt maintaine them to be iuſt, or muſt altogether

hold his peace, and diſcreetly turne his talke to other matter. Theſe are *Arcana imperij*, whereof *Tacitus* ſpeaketh.

Courage alſo and reſolution are very neceſſary for him, by reaſon of the hazards, intricate affaires, oppoſitions and vexations, which are euermore ordinary with thoſe that ſerue Princes and Commonwealths: And euen ſo the Romanes wel conſidering the perill which accompanieth Ambaſſages, honoured the memory of thoſe that died in that charge with a ſtatue: for which cauſe an Ambaſſador of *Athens* anſwered ſo freely King *Philip* of *Macedon*, who threatned him, that he would cauſe his head to be cut off: If thou takeſt this head from me, my Country will giue mee another that ſhall be immortall: *Statuam pro capite, pro morte immortalitatem.* Neuertheleſſe euery one would not like of ſuch a change, and ſome would rather

ther keepe their owne: and if the Ambaſſadors eſcaped the danger, and had well ſerued the Commonwealth, there were recompenſes anſwerable to the deſertes appointed vnto them.

The Engliſh Ambaſſador, Sir *Edward Stafford*, on the day, or the next day after the *Barricadoes* of *Paris*, when a Lorde of the faction of the Duke of *Guiſe*, that dead is, woulde haue him take a paſ-port or ſafe-gard from the ſaid duke, made him anſwer: *I am vnder the ſafegard of the law of nations, and in the protection of the King, to whom you are but ſubiects and ſeruantes.* This proceeded from a generous reſolution, euen in the furies of a popular commotion, when the moſt mutinous could do all, and good men feared all. The Lord of *Mortfontaine*, that dead is, going Ambaſſadour into *Swiſſerland*, about fiue yeeres paſt, and being to paſſe through the County of *Burgundie*, which, at that time, was full of

Spaniſh and Italian Souldiers going into *Flaunders*, ſpake very freely vnto thoſe of the parliament of *Dole*, which would haue put him in feare, to the end, that hee might not arriue in due time at the aſſembly of *Baden*, wherein they had ſome practiſe againſt the Kings ſeruice. That he was vnder the aſſurance of the Law of nations, and of the *Newtrality*, and in the protection of the Lords of the Cantons, and that they ſhould readily determine to make his paſſage ſafe, and this furthered him: albeit that which he aledged of the Law of nations was very diſputable: as I told him as ſoone as wee were out of danger. I will ſpeake a worde agayne theereof in his due place.

Furthermore, theſe are too common and childiſh precepts, to admoniſh him to be patient, and ſtaied, if he ſee any to breake out through impatience (as they doe moſt commonly) who thinke

thinke they haue right and reaſon on their ſides. Eſpecially, the Swiſſers and Germans, who are cholerike. The ſence being diſtempered, choketh reaſon: and choller is an enimy to counſaile, breeding hatred and contempt, and is ill-befitting to euery man, much more to a man that manageth the chiefe affaires of an Eſtate, which many times hee hurteth through his haſtineſſe, coller and impatience. The Frenchman who hath his bloud hote, and his ſpirit more ſtirring, hath conſequently certaine quicke diſpoſitions, which other Nations doe not allow of; at leaſt, they woulde bee more tolerable in martiall men, yea, in any other man, than in an Ambaſſador, and Counſellor of Eſtate. I wiſh neuertheleſſe that he would moderate his grauitie ſo, as it be not hautie, as that of the Spaniards oftentimes is, in their ſpeach, countenance, traine and gate: One that hath beene Ambaſſa-

dor in *England* and ſince in *France*, for the laſt King of *Spaine* was wont to ſay: *Dios es poderoſo en el ciel, y, el Rey d' Eſpagna en la tierra*. He had his horſes and coach garniſhed with litle bels, and hauing but three ſteppes from his lodging to the Church, neverthelesſe, both he and his traine woulde mount on horſebacke in their litter or coach. The letters of occurrents reporte, that an other, departing from *Rome* to follow the Pope went forth with ſeauen litters, ſix coaches, drawne euery one with ſixe horſes, two hundred ſeruants, ſixty wagons loaden with baggage, and the firſt day hee paſſed not the firſt gate. This faſhion is held for good amongeſt them.

Let vs returne into our way againe, for to adde vnto our Ambaſſador one of the worthieſt qualities which hee can purchaſe vnto himſelfe. That is, to be, and to ſeeme, a moſt diſcreete man.

man. The which he cannot better do, then by theſe two vertues, to be Charitable and Veritable. For the former, there are ſome which repine at that which is giuen to the poore, and neuertheleſſe, are otherwiſe at great expences, as if the one and the other were incompatible things. Our forefathers did ſay, that Wiſdome and Honeſty make a diſcreet man. Then what may a man expect of the honeſty of ſuch a one as refuſeth the guift of a halfepenny to a begger, or of his wiſdome, if he would be accounted liberall, and neuertheleſſe ſpareth halfe a dozen of Crownes in almes euery yeare? This is matter for Preachers, and *Eccleſiaſtes* ſaith, *Fili, ne auertas oculos tuos ab egeno.* And if one muſt not turne away his eyes from ſeeing the miſerable, much leſſe is it lawfull to reproach and reuile them, and to adde an iniury to a refuſall.

The other marke of diſcretion, is, to

be veritable, ſparing in promiſing & religious in obſeruing that once he hath promiſed: for naturally one is leſſe offended at a refuſal then at an vnfaithfulnes: nothing wil ſo much preſerue his reputation, eſpecially amongſt merchants and mony-men: There hauing bene ſuch an Ambaſſador ſeene, as by his credit alone hath borowed ſo notable a ſumme, and by the ſame done ſo worthy ſeruice to his Maſter, that at the laſt, he hath both deſerued, and receiued a great reward: But the reward which is moſt pleaſing to a good man, is the honour it ſelfe which ariſeth vnto him by his vertue. The Germans and other Nations of that Climate make more account of a promiſe made, then wee doe, who moſt commonly ſerue our turnes therewith to ridde our handes of ſuch as are importunate. I haue alwaies ſeene *Monſieur de Sillary* (who hath beene neere about eight yeeres Ambaſſador in *Swiſſer-*

Swiſſerland, and hath there ſerued the King very profitably, during the deſperate eſtate of our affaires) be verie ſparing in making any promiſe to the Swiſſers. For thoſe people, for the moſt part, do note downe, the place, day and houre, that they were ſpoken with, yea euery word of an Ambaſſador, ſtill ſeeking to engage him in his promiſe: and do carefully keepe the letters which hee writeth vnto them: and take hold of the very hopes that are giuen vnto them: and would make the ſame to ſtand inſteed of a bill or obligation: how much more a promiſe written, or his word giuen? Let our Ambaſſador, therefore remember the ſaying of an auncient Writer: *Thinke an houre before you ſpeake, and a day before you promiſe.*

And further, one hath time among them to bethinke himſelfe and deliberate of that which is to be anſwered vnto them, and they themſelues vſe the

the ſame maner. But much more ſparing ought he to be to oblige his Maſter: and although he haue ful authoritie to doe it, neuertheleſſe he ſhall do well, if the ſeruice of his Maiſter permit it, to giue him aduice therof, before the concluſion and contract be paſſed, for beſides that the wils of Princes are ſubiect to changes, that which hee ſhall do, ſhalbe ſo much the more authorized, and himſelfe be without reproach. I will adde this word by the way vpon this point of contracts and treaties, that they ought to be couched in termes plaine, not ambiguous, nor captious, and to follow as much as may be, the termes and clauſes of preſidents. The Ambaſſador makes the Prince to ſpeake therein, for whom it is vnſeemely to vſe ambiguities and ſubtilties, for feare leſt it be told him as it was to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, by Duke *Mauritius*, vpon the equiuocation of theſe two words: *Enig*

and

and *Euig*: Sir, theſe ſubtilities are meet for an Aduocate, but not for an Emperour.

True it is, that there is not almoſt any publike charge, wherein there is more lying, and ſometimes by the Maſters commaundement, and for the good of his ſeruice, as I will ſhew by and by. I haue ſeene ſome of them, who through an habitude of lying, haue of men of fidelity, become at laſt very ſound liers. *Eccleſiaſticus* alſo ſaith, that the vſe thereof is euill. *Noli velle mentiri omne mendacium: aſſiduitas enim illius non eſt bona.* Others ther are, who that they may not lie ſo aparantly, helpe themſelues with ambiguous tearmes, couched ſo artificially, that the ſubtileſt heads knowe not where to find an Yea or a Nay. In theſe ther is leaſt harme: and they eſcape beſt when they are ſommoned and do leſſe wrong to their Maſters, and to his reputation: neuertheleſſe this ſhift is

ſoone

ſoone ſmelled out and deſcried : and the lier gaineth thus much thereby, that he is not belieued, euen when hee telleth truth. Let him be therefore true in his words, mindefull of that which he hath promiſed, correſpondent to himſelfe, holding alwayes agreeable concluſions in his diſcourſes : to the end that the contrary be not imputed to him for follie and vnſtayedneſſe

Here ariſeth a queſtion, to wit, If a man, to liue ciuillie, ought to be more enclined to refuſe, than to grant : for-aſmuch as ſome make all demaunds and requeſts that are made vnto them ſo difficult, that they ſeeme to doe it of purpoſe to excuſe themſelues from them. Others neuer refuſe any thing, for not diſcontenting any man for the preſent time *Guicciardine* ſeemeth to leane to this opinion, that one ought not to refuſe any thing abſolutely: be-cauſe, ſaith he, if the requeſt be for a thing hereafter to come, or for a mat-

ter

ter that dependeth on the will of ano-ther : there happen many occaſions by which thou maiſt be diſcharged of thy promiſe, whereas by a flat deniall, or in making the matter difficult, thou offendeſt thy friend. I beleeue that there is a meane betweene theſe two extreamities : for the wiſe Ambaſſa-dor, by giuing other counſel and dire-ction, or teſtifying a good wil by other gratious effects and honeſt ſpeeches, may mollifie the deniall which many times he is inforced to vſe to demands that are made out of time, and without reaſon. A leſſon in particular, for the Ambaſſadors of *Swiſſerland*, and the Griſons, whoſe affaires are full of ſuch importunities, I meane for thoſe that ſhall come after *Monſieur de Vicque*, who hauing gotten ſo much reputati-on in the other charges which he hath managed heretofore, doth in this one ſurmount himſelfe.

And to returne to our matter, the

ſame

ſame *Guicciardine* ſaieth, that when a Prince would deceiue his companion, he firſt deceiueth his Ambaſſador, to the intent that his reaſons may be the more effectuall, and his perſwaſions may carry weight : for there is leſſe affection vſed in that which is diſſembled.

But whether muſt he lie vppon his owne knowledge for his Maſters ſeruice, as I ſaid before? Some excuſe it vpon the Maiſters commandement, ſaying, that he is ſufficiētly diſcharged, in hauing done or ſaid that which was enioyned him : no more, nor no leſſe then the ſubiect which beareth armes for his Prince, and asketh not whether the warre be iuſt or no . But indeede this ſeemeth hard vnto a good man, that doeth not willingly wound his conſcience, to get the Title of a ſufficient man : this is alſo hard vnto a man of a generous and open ſpirite, who in lying doth violence to his naturall

turall diſpoſition: for lying & diſſimulation are aſſured marks of an ignoble hart, and of a man baſely borne. So the *Satire* would no longer conuerſe with the man, after he had ſeene him blowe hot and cold out of one mouth. Conſidering alſo, that a good man ought alwayes to ſet before his eyes, Honour and Conſcience, although there were profit in doing euill.

His charge in Generall.

LEt vs now ſpeake of the matter of his charge, but generally, foraſmuch as the diuerſitie of Eſtates and affaires require alſo a diuerſitie of inſtructions, for otherwiſe is he to beare himſelfe in a popular eſtate then with a Soueraigne Prince. Solemne ſpeeches and declamations are yet in ſome vſe amongſt popular Eſtates and common-wealths: and theſe they muſt after deliuer vnto them in writing, becauſe

cauſe they will not be miſtooken, and will haue time to make anſwer. There are more formalities, and complements obſerued in one place than in another. In *Swiſſerland* there muſt be more mony than arte, more good cheere than faire words. For which cauſe, ſome of them prayed me to tell the King, that they had more need of a Treaſurer with mony, than of an Ambaſſador with wordes. In ſome other Eſtates Honour ſwayeth moſt, together with Complements, and ſtreames of *Rhetorike*. The very reſpect of Religion hath had more force with ſome Princes than monie: hereof in our time, wee haue hadde experience. Some inſtructions are limited, and ſome at the diſcretion of him that is ſent, as in affairs of ſecrecie, and ſuch, as whereof no certainty or knowledge can be had, but in the place it ſelfe being then repreſented to the ſight.

Some alſo are for a time, and for one

one matter: otherſome for a long time, and diuers buſineſſes, and by reaſon to the difference of affaires, the ſame is infinite, as I haue before ſaide. Yet a man may giue it this one generall rule; That as much as poſſibly hee can, hee employ the words, termes, reaſons and concluſions that are comprehended in his inſtructions to be alwaies aiming the will of his Maiſter. *Demoſthenes* ſaide: Wee giue them not forces or ſhippes of warre to manage, but words, daies, houres, and moments, and they alſo are to giue an account euen to ſillables and minutes, if they doe any thing to the preiudice of the Common-wealth. *Plato* in his Commonwealth, would, that thoſe that had done or ſaide one thing for another, ſhould be puniſhed with death. *Mandatum iiſdem verbis, quoad eius fieri potuit, perfici debet*, as the Lawe ſayeth: Yea, and an Ambaſſador ought to deſire that his commiſſion be giuen him

in writing, when the affaire whereabout he goeth to treat, is of great conſequence, or that the effect thereof is odious. And in this caſe hee ſhall be rightly counſailed to giue vp his ſpeech in writing, as thoſe did whom the Senate ſent to *Anthonie*, for feare of diſpleaſing him: And as of late an Ambaſſador of *Paris* did to a neighbour Princeſſe, to whome he caried a meſſage, with threatning hir, if ſhe did not forbeare to giue ſuccours vnto her confederates, and he did well: for it was reſolued to detaine him, if he had not ſhewed his inſtructions ſufficiently ratified. Yea, and although the affaires for the which hee was ſent, hath not ſorted to good effect, yet ſhall hee be excuſed for hauing followed his inſtructions. And withall, in a limited authoritie, one is not alwayes admitted to ſay: *I haue done better than it was enioyned me*, for that is to ſeeme to be wiſer than his Maiſter and his counſell.

ſell. An example whereof in a caſe of warre in *Poſthumius*, *Manlius* and other Romanes, which cauſed their owne ſons to be put to death, for hauing fought with the ennemy without leaue, although with proſperous ſucceſſe. An example alſo in him who hauing receiued cõmandemẽt to cauſe a great maſt of a ſhip, to be brought, Did chuſe one ſomwhat leſſer, which he ſaid was fitter for the purpoſe: and ſaid truth, neuertheleſſe was blamed for it. And in our fathers time, The *Mareſchall de Thermes* being General in *Scotland* of the Kings army, gaue a rewarde to a Souldier that had firſt mounted vpon the bulwarke of a fort which he beſieged, wherupon inſued the gaining of the fort: and an howre after cauſed him to be hanged for hauing beene ſo hardy, as to goe thither without commaundement. But (not to depart from our preſent argument) *Metrodorus* being ſent in the behalfe

of his maiſter *Mithridates* to King *Tigranes*, to requeſt him to ioyne his forces with him in the warre which he entended againſt the Romans, was puniſhed for hauing made this double anſwere to *Tigranes*, who asked his aduice therein : As being an Ambaſſador I counſell you vnto it : but as being *Metrodorus*, I am not of that opinion : and he ſaid well, for his Maſter would gladly haue beene ridde of ſo dangerous an enterpriſe.

It is therefore better, to faile in obeying, than to incurre the hazard of being diſallowed in well doing : eſpecially in theſe limited authorities. But Princes ſometimes are ill warrants for ſuch things as they haue commanded, how much more for thoſe things that they haue not commaunded? The Athenians cauſed the Ambaſſadors which they ſent into *Arcadia* to bee put to death, for hauing tooken an other way than was commanded them.

And

And it is not very long ſince that a Secretarie of Eſtate wrote vnto an Ambaſſador, the which had, of his owne head, and yet not without good cauſe, hazarded, certain monies of the kings, through a dangerous way; *His Maieſtie thinks well of it, ſince that the matter hath falne out well.* And it doth not often happen, that the Ambaſſador hath ſo little time, that he cannot both giue and aske aduice of his maſter concerning the ſame. Which is alwayes the meeteſt and ſureſt way, to make apparant vnto him, both his reſpectiueneſſe, and diligence.

Another point is, *de libero mandato*, and of inſtructions not ſigned nor limited: or elſe of thoſe, to which the Athenians added, *Legati praterea quicquid boni poſſunt agunto.* In this caſe they had full libertie to threate, doe, and conclude that which they iudged to be profitable for the ſeruice of their Soueraigne. There are alſo ſome af-

faires ſo ſecret, ſo important, ſo vrgent, ſo deſperate, that it is expedient to committe all to the wiſedome of the Ambaſſador, as *Tacitus* ſaith, ſpeaking of *Druſius*, who was ſent in the behalfe of his father *Tiberius* toward the mutinous Legions: *Nullis certis mandatis ex re conſulturum mittit*: and as in former times when the Commonwealth was in danger, all was committed to the power and will of the Dictator. Neuertheleſſe men placed in great charge are ſo expoſed vnto enuie and ſlaunder, that our Ambaſſador ſhall doe very diſcreetely, not to conclude any thing without his Maſters commandement, as I haue ſaid, out of his due place. Vnleſſe, when the matter cannot admit any delay, to communicate it with two or three of the moſt experienced ſeruants that his Maſter hath in the Country where hee is, for the matter happening to fall out ill, hee ſhall auoide the reproach of hauing done

done it alone, and without aduice. The which I ſay alſo, and chiefly for him that ſhall haue his remembrances in expreſſe words, and ſigned: to whom neuertheleſſe ſome newe accident might befall, which was neither foreſeene, nor comprehended within his commiſſion, for oftentimes the Agents and Miniſters of Princes doe finde at their arriuall, matters otherwiſe diſpoſed then was before imagined; eſpecially in time of warre, and in a country farre diſtant. And there needeth to a new buſineſſe a new aduice: as namely, if he had bin commanded to vſe gentle and gratious tearmes, it may be peraduenture more needefull that he ſpake roughly and in threatning maner, or to change and omit ſomething enioyned by his inſtructions. Hee ſhall likewiſe haue this aduice of me, that through too much diligence and earneſtneſſe, hee giue not or augment the ſuſpition

which might be had of the cauſe of his comming, and that he doe not diſcouer it, through too much arte and talking. The great preparation of him that feareth to be ſurpriſed, maketh his feare to increaſe: and his feare augmenteth his enemies courage: it being otherwiſe very certaine, that all things which are affected, diſguiſed, or augmented, are naturally ſuſpected.

Yet another aduice, which is, that there are ſome, who at their comming make the affaires of their Maiſter or Commonwealth, to be ſo feeble, and ſo deſperate, as nothing more, thinking to ſtirre vp compaſſion, and to be the ſooner ſuccoured; but many Princes contemne thoſe that are in neceſſitie, and do no good but to thoſe whom they feare, or from whom they expect profite. Yea, there are ſome that reiect the diſtreſſed, accompting that they are abandoned of God and Fortune, all at once: as if God had no other

ther bleſſing than that of the goods of fortune: but a holy Father of the Church hath holily ſaide, *Multa deus negat propicius, quæ concedit iratus.* God is not alwayes angrie when hee denieth vs any thing. God is not alwayes pleaſed when he granteth vs any thing. He muſt therefore remember, that oftentimes the countenance carrieth away the game, and that compaſſion is not lodged, but in a truely humane, and chriſtian heart, and ſeldome indeede in the hearts of the Mightie, and of their Counſelors.

We ſaide then, that many things ought to be left to the diſcretion of a wiſe Ambaſſador, without binding his tongue and hands. *Mitte ſapientem & nihil dicito.* But when he hath carried himſelfe therein like an honeſt man, it is wickedly done to reward him with a diſſalowance, and ſuch Princes deſerue not to be ſerued of honeſt men, eſpecially when they haue done

done well. Induſtrie and Diligence are of our ſelues but a happy ſucceſſe is from heauen. Neuertheleſſe there are ſome things ſubiect to diſſallowance, as are the haughtie and inſolent words which an Ambaſſador hath vſed, or elſe the ſecret plottes and practiſes, which he worketh in the Eſtate where he is reſident, if it be without commandement, and euen populare eſtates haue made a prouiſo for the ſame, without expecting a diſſallowance.

Amongſt others, there is an expreſſe law amongſt the Griſons, made in the month of February *MDLXXX* by which, all Agentes, Miniſters, and Factors of forraine Princes, are prohibited to make any ſecret or open complotts, or elſe to ſpreade any new thing among the people, without aduertizing the generall aſſembly of their three Cantons, vpon paine of being held priſoners. This lawe is cloſely

cloſely in all other Eſtates, if it be not expreſſed in words: whereof we will anone ſpeake in his place. As for words, it is certaine that how abſolute ſoeuer the Prince, or great the Commonwealth is which he repreſenteth, the reſpect and the ciuilitie which hee looketh for, is reciprocall on his part. The more or the leſſe is referred to his diſcretion the which he ought to haue for guide and miſtres in all his actions. The kezar or great duke of *Muſcouie* cauſd an Ambaſſadors hat to be naild to his head, for not hauing done him honour enough. Such a one would rather haue caſt his hat vnder his feet.

The Doctor *B.* ſpeaking vnto the Counſaile of the late King, in the behalfe of his Maiſter, vſed ſo vnciuill wordes, that hee offended euery man: and it was not beleeued that his commiſſion warranted ſuch language, neuertheleſſe they would not aggrauate matters then. *Anthonie* cauſed the Ambaſ-

Ambaſſadour of *Auguſtus* to bee whipt, for hauing ſpoken to *Cleopatra* with too little reſpect: and the Greekiſh Emperor *Emanuel* cauſed, for the like occaſion, the Venetian Ambaſſadors eyes to be plucked out, for ſometimes Ambaſſadours bearing themſelues bold on the greatneſſe of their Maſters, do forget themſelues, and eſpecially thoſe that are brought vp in popular Eſtates, and which are accuſtomed to a liberty of ſpeaking, as the Romans in former times. It is a ſtory worthy to be noted of one of the two Ambaſſadours which thoſe of *Thebes* ſent vnto king *Artaxerxes*, who ſeeing the honour which was giuen vnto him, to be great, and verie neere vnto adoration, that hee might not bee reprehended for doing too much or too little therein, fained in ſaluting him, to take vp his ring, which he had of purpoſe let fall vppon the ground. Contrariwiſe *Timagoras* being

ing ſent in the behalfe of thoſe of *Athens* to the ſame King, was reprehended for hauing done honor vnto him, not as a Citizen of *Athens*, but as a ſubiect of *Perſia*. In like maner, there are great ſubmiſſions to be done to the grand Signor by al the Ambaſſadors, to whom, or the greater part of them, he giueth entertainement by mouth, and there is danger in omitting them. For perhappes it would not happen ſo well with al men, as it did once to an Ambaſſador of *France*, that was ſo ielous of the dignitie of his Maſter, that hee handſomely ſhifted himſelfe out of the handes of two *Baſchaes*, that conducted him according to the cuſtome, and on a ſodaine preſented himſelfe to the Grand Signor, without doing him any other honour than that which is giuen vnto the Princes of Chriſtendome. His freedome and plaineneſſe ſerued him for an excuſe: but his ſucceſſor in that charge, which

was

was his Nephew, would not vſe the like: he ought therefore to holde his degree and the dignitie of his Maiſter prouided, that it be without contempt of the Prince to whom he is ſent, and ſo *Monſieur de la Noue* ſpeaketh therof in this iudicious obſeruations vpon *Guicciardine.*

See yet another aduice which is not to be neglected, which is, that he accept no charge or commiſſion from any other than his Maiſter. *An Ambaſſage and a Comedie* are different things; A man cannot therein play diuerſe partes vnder diuers garments, for feare leſt it befall him as it did to an *Ambaſſador* ſent to the Emperor, who being requeſted by a Cardinall to doe in his name, faith, homage, and ſubmiſſion, for certaine lands held of the *Emperor*, was admitted to doe it, but not without the mockery of thoſe which had ſeene him the day before in his dignitie of an *Ambaſſador*, the which hee

hee deſtained by this ſubmiſſion, doeing wrong to his owne reputation and to the greatneſſe of his maiſter, both at once. Neyther at his returne from his charge, ought he to bring credence or meſſage from him to whom hee had beene ſent, beſides the buſines which he went to treate of : for that is ſuſpicious and ill befitting, if it be not betweene Princes that are neere of blood and very good friendes, and for a matter common betweene them, and not odious.

But to returne to the matter of his charge, if he haue not leſſons giuen him by writing, it is no danger to tell him in generall, that hee ſhall do well to learne, what is the forme of gouernment of the Countrie wherein hee is, the limites, greatneſſe and largeneſſe thereof, the maners of the people, the number of places of ſtrength, hauens and veſſels, the ſtore-houſes of munition, the forces of warre for ſea and land,

land, what may be drawne out of the Country without vnfurniſhing the frontiers and places of importance; the entrances into the Countrie, the ordinarie and extraordinarie reuenewe; the Treaſure and meane in ready mony; the alliances offenſiue and defenſiue with other Princes and Eſtates neare or far off; the traffike, commerſe, plentie and fertilitie thereof: and if it be a Prince, to know the humour and inclination of him, and of thoſe that rule moſt about him to know the diſcontentment the people hath of his behauiour, the iealouſies and practiſes of the Great-ones, the factions and particularities in the eſtate, and whether it be for the ſtate, or for religion, or for any other occaſion, his yearely expences, both for his houſe, as for his frontiers and garriſons. Aboue all, let him alwayes haue an eye abroad into the country, to diſcouer, if there be any ſtirring againſt the ſeruice of his Maiſter,

ſter, or againſt his confederates. The which he ſhall much better learne, if hee be dayly attendant at the Court, vnleſſe at ſuch times as the king withdraweth himſelfe for his recreation: (for, in ſuch a caſe hee ſhould make himſelfe to be held ſuſpected and importunate) in popular Eſtates to be alwayes preſent at their diets, meetings, and aſſemblies, or to haue ſome one of his owne company there, to the end that there be no euill reſolution taken to the preiudice of his maſter.

He ought alſo to viſite the principall Councellors, the Secretaries of Eſtate, and amongeſt others, him that hath the charge of forraine affaires, to entertaine them at times with magnificence and affability; but yet ſeldome. He ſhal alſo viſit the Ambaſſadors of other Princes and Common-wealths, that are reſident in the ſame Court, but yet ſparingly, that he may not giue them a ſhadow of himſelfe. A for-

raine Ambaſſador that was of late in our Court, ſaw no man, nor ſuffered himſelfe to be ſeene but once in three moneths. And God knoweth if his aduices were ſlender and barren. *Cyneas* being Ambaſſador for *Pyrrhus* vnto the Romans did much better. He knew al the Senators and ſaluted them euery one by his name. Which made him the more acceptable and fauoured. I haue ſeene ſome Ambaſſadors of *Venice* to performe this poynt with much dexteritie : & for the moſt part they haue no neede but of this inſtruction, for the relations which at their returne they are accuſtomed to preſent to the Signeurie maketh thoſe which ſucceed them to be ſufficiently inſtructed in that whichthey ought to know in an Eſtate.

Yet muſt our Ambaſſador, in this, aſwell as in all the other partes of his charge, vſe great diſcretion, for that all Princes are naturally iealous of the ſecre-

ſecrecies of their Eſtates. There is an expreſſe law of *Honorius* and *Theodoſius de alieni regni arcanis non ſcrutandis*. I remember that the late *Monſieur B.* who followed *Monſieur* the late Duke of *Aniow* into *England*, was there maligned for his vndiſcreete curioſitie, although that otherwiſe hee was eſteemed for his learning. Being at dinner with an Engliſh Lord, he beganne to ſpeake of the ſucceſſion (a matter then amongſt them odious and capitall) and affirmed, that a certaine Princeſſe was the preſumptiue inheritrix thereunto: notwithſtanding a certaine law which ſeemed to exclude thoſe that were borne out of the land: and yet, ſaide he, I know not where this law is for all the diligence which I haue vſed to finde it out. It was ſodainely replied vnto him by this Lord: You ſhall finde it on the backe ſide of the *Salicque* law, a iudicious and biting rebound, which inſtantly ſtopt the curi-

oſitie of this man, which indeede was in all reſpects out of ſeaſon: for at that time there was a treaty of marriage betweene his Maſter and the Queene of *England*. Neither doth *Plutarch* place this diſcourſe of *Bodin* amongſt talke fit for the table. And in truth it was taken in ill part, that this man had written and publiſhed ſome matter of *England*, vpon report of ſome particular men, without other verification. Therefore in ſearching out theſe matters, he ought to be wonderfully diſcreete and conſiderate. In *France* all things are expoſed to the curioſitie of ſtrangers, partly through our naturall libertie in ſpeaking of all things, partly by reaſon of the faſhions in the eſtate, and the diuiſions in religion, which for the ſpace of fortie yeares haue ſhaken *France*: but principally, through the greatneſſe and largenes of this Eſtate, wherein it is more difficult to remedy this miſchiefe, then in a leſſer Realme, or

or ſmall Commonwealth, where it is eaſier to ſtoppe priuate mens mouths.

Amongſt the meanes howe to be enformed of the affaires of a Country, beſides mony which maketh the cloſeſt Cabinets of Princes to flie open, there is one more open, and leſſe ſuſpected Which is, entertainement at the table, which obligeth many people, and eſpecially thoſe, who to haue a free recourſe thereunto, or to drawe from the Ambaſſador ſome doſen of crownes, ſmell out all the newes and report them vnto him, at his table, or in priuate. True it is that they are not alwayes of a true ſtampe , and it behoueth a wiſe man to weigh them well,and learne the truth thereof, before he make vſe of it, and that, if poſſibly he can, he await the proceeding and iſſue of the matter, and the effect of a deliberation that is taken, before he giue aduiſe thereof : for that all things in the worlde are ſubiect to

change. A Gentleman (that was otherwiſe excellently qualified) being at the beginning of theſe laſt troubles ſent vnto the Court, to learne what was in working againſt his Maiſter, and thoſe of his party, ſuffered himſelfe to be led on with the faire words of the Court, hauing forgotten the firſt ſecret of his charge. To take heed rather to that which is done, then to that which is ſpoken. I haue ſeene others to haue failed in the like, who for a deſire which they had to giue freſh intelligences, wrote all things indifferently, were it falſe or true, and oftentimes at the firſt anſwere which they receiued from the Court, were rewarded for their dilligence with ſome piece of mockery. Others fall into this extreamitie of writing, euen to the leaſt occurrences of a countrie, the quarrells of particular men, the loue of Ladies in Court, the executions of iuſtice, the orders for receiuing the treaſure

treaſure, and of the gouernement: or other friuolous matters which no way concerne the Eſtate, much like thoſe aduiſes and occurants of *Italie*, which are fit for nothing but to make worke for idle heads. It is true, that there are ſome Princes and Ladies woulde knowe all: for contenting of whoſe curioſitie, I woulde make a priuate letter, which not medling with the affaires of his charge, ſhould not neede to be carried or read vnto the Counſell.

Here ariſeth a queſtion, if an Ambaſſador ought to giue aduiſe vnto his Maſter, of all that which is ſpoken amiſſe of him: becauſe that aduiſe thereof may come vnto him by other meanes then from himſelfe, who in ſuch caſes ought to take good heede that he be not preuented. I remember me, to this effect, of the Agent of a neighbour Princeſſe, who ſeeing the wrong that ſuch reportes would bring

vnto the ſeruice and common cauſe of the one and the other, did rather chuſe to conceale the vndiſcreete ſpeeches which he had heard. I commended and admired his diſcretion, exhorting him, in the like occaſions, to yeeld vnto the publike good, the particular offence of ſome particular druncken or witleſſe fellow. Euen ſo *Philip de Comines* complaineth, that by the report made of a few words, there hath many times a good alliance beene broken, or a good and profitable effect hindered. It is an other thing, if in full counſell of the Prince, or in the Pulpit by the Preachers, or on the Theater by ſtage players, or by writing or Lybels, he ſee the honour of his Maiſter defamed. For hee ought forthwith to aduertiſe him of it, and withall to craue Iuſtice, and amends for the ſame, of thoſe that ought to grant it vnto him: Yet neuertheleſſe moderating himſelfe, for not making the

the miſchief to be greater than it is; for ſo it befalleth them as with Women, who many times through too much defending of their Honeſty, make it more doubtfull and ſuſpected, eſpecially, when they adde thereto much affection and feruencie, as *Tacitus* ſaith, *Cõuicia ſi iraſcare, agnita videntur, ſpreta exoleſcunt.* But what if himſelfe receiue any iniury for his owne particular or any of his followers? It muſt be diſtinguiſhed, whether the iniury be done vnto him in publike, of the Prince or Commonwealth, in which he is reſident. As that Ambaſſadour of *Rome*, on whom in full aſſembly *Thelitizeus* of *Tarentum* threw durt and piſſe. I haue ſaith he, more then I demanded, but one day you ſhall waſh my cloathes with your bloud; and his propheſie fell true, and hee ought forthwith to aduertiſe his Maſter thereof, that he may doe therein as he ſhall iudge to be for the beſt. Or elſe

elſe, whether that the indignitie were offered vnto him by ſome particular perſon: In this caſe the way of complaint is open vnto him, to haue right by the ordinary courſe of Iuſtice, which ſhall vnfainedly be granted vnto him, if it be not intended to breake off with his Maiſter. For it is not denied vnto ſtrangers by the ſame law of Nations, *Plato* ſaith, that God hath a particular rate of ſtrangers, & the further off that a ſtranger is from the ſuccor of his kindred & friends, the more he is in the protection of God. *Omnia in Perigrinos quam in ciues peccata grauiora ſunt & magis vltori Deo cura.* And withall, the perſon of the Prince ſeemeth to be violated in the perſon of the Ambaſſador, who hauing put himſelfe into the protection, and vnder the aſſurance of a publike faith, hath receiued a wrong or an indignitie, and is bound to cauſe true Iuſtice and full amends to be made vnto him.

Let

Let vs ſpeake a word of his aduiſes, becauſe moſt commonly it is not knowne what an Ambaſſador doeth in his charge, but by that which himſelfe writeth. It was once forgotten that there was an Ambaſſador in *Denmarke*, if the late *Sieur de Douſe* a worthy Gentleman, and who hath beene there aboue thirtie yeares, had not at length remembred it himſelfe. For that in ſo farre a Countrie, and where the affaires were not very great, an Ambaſſador hath ſeldome ſufficient occaſion to make his vertue knowne, and for that things are worth no more then the value that is made of them, hee ſhall doe well to make himſelfe knowne by his aduiſes which are looked on and conſidered by the Secretaries of Eſtate, read vnto the Counſell, and repreſented vnto the Prince, according vnto the worth of the ſubiect. They muſt therefore be graue, briefe, well compact, containing much

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in few words, couched in tearmes, rather ordinary then borrowed, interlaced ſometimes with ſententious clauſes, and points, yet very ſeldome; and that they may be the better vnderſtood, it ſhall be good to articulate euery affaire apart: as commonly thoſe of *Monſieur de Villeroy* (chiefe and moſt worthy Secretary of the Commandements) are, and as the vſe is in the moſt parte of the Chaunceries in *Germanie*. For my part, I cannot allow the maner of writing of ſuch as tie themſelues to a continnuate running on, and heaping together of their letters, notwithſtanding the difference of affaires which they containe, and it ſeemeth, as it were a courſe couering or other like worke made of diuerſe pieces ioyned together. And if his Maiſters ſeeruice can admitt it, I would rather giue no new aduiſe, vntill I had anſwere vnto the former. Order and Methoode in all things eaſeth the minde, and augmenteth

menteth the memory. Likewiſe if it fall out that he muſt write many letters of the ſame ſubiect, for the ſame place, as it ordinarily happeneth, hee ſhall doe well to vſe as much difference as he can in the tearmes & ſtile, that they may not be like to a Notories prefident.

I muſt now ſpeake concerning Preſidencie, whereof there are a thouſand good poynts to be ſpoken, which are for a ſeuerall diſcourſe. I wil only ſay, that if an Ambaſſador will reape honour of his charge, it is meete that he doe honour vnto the ſame, and that he be iealous of the degree and place which is due vnto his Maiſter, without yeelding any iote thereof vnto an other. Princes and ſoueraigne eſtates doe hold many-times more deare, the conſeruation of their degree and dignitie than of their lands and poſſeſſions. So *Arcaſes*, did put his Ambaſſador to death: for hauing ſurrendered

dered his place vnto *Sylla*, (as *Plutarke* ſaith.

It is true, that alwayes ſuch queſtions doe not ariſe, becauſe almoſt euery one throughout all places knoweth the degree and place, that is due vnto him. In the Court of *Rome* for theſe 50. or 60. yeares, the Ambaſſador of *Spaine* hath made queſtion of precedencie with thoſe of *France*. There was a great alteration therein at the Councell of *Trent*. At *Venice* it hath beene adiudged to him of *France*. The late Aduocate *Pithou* affirmeth, that in all the prouincials of all the Cathedrall Churches of Chriſtendome that haue beene imprinted at *Rome* euen to this preſent, the King of *France* is put the firſt of all other Kings, being ſeconded by the King of *England*, and then by him of *Spaine*. *Bodin* ſayeth, that in the ceremonie, of the Order of *England*, the place of the King of *France*, is at the right hand of the chiefe

chiefe of the Order, and ſo it was decreed at a Chapter helde on the eue of Saint *George* patron of that Order, in the yeare 1555. by the knights of the Garter, albeit that the King of *Spaine* had maried *Mary* the elder ſiſter of the late Queene of *England*, I beleeue that there would be no leſſe honour done vnto him in *Scotland*, *Denmarke*, & of many princes and potentates of *Germany* and *Italy*. But the Emperor being neere kinſ-man, of the ſame name and armes, that the King of *Spaine* is, giueth the precedencie to his Ambaſſador; and the laſt Emperor was content that it ſhould goe by turnes, (as anciently that of the Roman Conſulls was, and at preſent that of the Burghemaiſters, and Auoyers in ſome Cantons of *Swiſſerland* is) to the end not to diſpleaſe th'one nor the other. Neuertheleſſe the King ſent word vnto *Monſieur de la Forreſt* his Ambaſſador, that he ſhould not alter

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any thing in this matter, without his expreſſe commandement. The Senate of *Polonia*, to a like queſtion ordayned, that the firſt come ſhould be the firſt heard. At an other time, at the Councell of *Conſtance* the Ambaſſador of *England*, debated it with him of *France*, whoſe ſtrongeſt argument was the title which his Maiſter then tooke of, King of *England* and *France*. And he poſſeſſed *Aquitania* and pretended vnto *Normandie*. I haue heard reported that an Ambaſſadour of the Kings in *Swiſſerland* being in company with the Ambaſſador of *Spaine* at the aſſembly of *Baden*, and ſeeing that the ſpaniard alwaies ſtroue for the way, made as if hee would buy ſomething at a Marchantes ſhoppe where both of them ſtaying together the French ſtepped out firſt and took the aduantage.. The beſt is in ſuch occaſions, neuer to meet together, vnleſſe that the ſeruice of his maiſter doe require

require it. At leaſt he can excuſe himſelfe for publike places and ceremonies as hath bin practiſed at *Rome* for theſe certaine yeares. And if ſo be our Ambaſſador chance to be preſent at ſuch like altercations of other Ambaſſadors, he muſt take heed, not to inueſt himſelfe in the one ſide or the other, or any way to interpoſe himſelfe therein without his maſters commandement. It is not ſo for al other differences that may fal out in the countrie where he is, eſpecially if hee perceiue his Maiſter to haue any intereſt therein: as when there hapneth any diſcord amongſt the Swiſſers, or the Griſons, all which haue almoſt as many common-wealthes as they haue Citties and Corporations. And it is very hard that in that great body ſo diuerſly compounded with difference of cuſtomes, languages, and religion, (in one only Canton of the Griſons, there are three different languages ſpoken) there

growe not amongeſt them (as wiſe as they all are) ſome occaſion of diſputation, wherein the wiſe Ambaſſadour may make the dexteritie of his ſpirit to preuaile, by ſetting them at accord, imploying the affection of his Maiſter towardes the one ſide and the other to oblige them both vnto him. The which thing the *Sieur de Liuerdis* laſt Ambaſſador for the King amongſt the Griſons knewe how to handle both wiſely and profitably, when he ſawe they were on termes of diſagreeing, and I can ſpeak for a certainty, that his memory is yet helde deare amongeſt them. The Intereſt of the King in theſe two eſtates is, that during their diuiſions hee can leuie no forces, nor be ſuccoured with their people to any purpoſe, if hee ſhoulde ſtand in neede of them. About the yeere 1602. the *Sieur de Daſe* by his wiſe Meditation accorded to twoo Kings of *Denmarke & Swethen* being rea-

ready to enter into warre, and both of them made choice of him for Arbitrator of their differences.

His Priuiledges.

IT followeth now to ſpeake of the priuileges & immunities of an Ambaſſador, not only for the reſpect of his owne perſon, but alſo of thoſe of his family, & of all that appertaineth vnto him: for concerning his perſon, euery man knoweth, that by the lawes of God & man, euen amongſt barbarous nations, and in the middeſt of the armes and armies of enemies, the perſon of an Ambaſſador hath in all ages beene adudged holy, ſacred, and inuiolable: for if beſides the perill and inconueniences of a long voyage, to which they expoſe themſelues, they ſhould not be in ſafetie in the place whereunto they goe, there would neuer be any which would vndertake the

hazard thereof, and conſequently therewould neuer any longer be made any truce,peace, or eſtabliſhment of commerce : finally, we ſhould fall againe into that firſt Chaos, and confuſion of all things. And likewiſe the puniſhments of thoſe that haue done violence vnto them, haue in all times beene very rigorous : this lawe being growne into a prouerbe : *Legatus neque cœditur neque violatur*. And when men haue not taken puniſhment for the ſame, it hath beene obſerued from age to age, that God hath not ſuffiered this offence vnpuniſhed: witneſſe the ſubuerſion of *Carthage*, of *Sirus*, of *Thebes*,and of ſo many other Citties, yea Prouinces, and whole Kingdomes. *Dauid* fought againſt, diſcomfited and brought into bondage the Ammonites for this cauſe. The hiſtories both ſacred and prophane doe afforde vs enough and too many examples hereof, King *Frances* the

the firſt denounced warre againſt the Emperour *Charles* for the murther of *Amion* and *Fregoſe* his Ambaſſadours. Yea, euen a rough and haughtie word, a ſcorne or contempt done vnto ſome Ambaſſadors hath beene oftentimes cauſe of the beginning of warre, as that of *Dalmatia*, whereof *Naſica* was Generall, and a long time after that of *Simon* King of *Bulgarie*, againſt *Alexander* Emperour of *Conſtantinople*. By a much ſtronger reaſon therefore if they haue beene outraged in their perſons. Contrariwiſe this very name of Ambaſſador hath beene in ſo great reuerence with all good men, that ſome haue not ſo much as touched the perſons of thoſe that had beene ſurpriſed in working ſome practiſes at *Rome* with the rebells: The great *Africanus* ſent home thoſe of *Carthage*, although that their Maſters had violated the lawe of nations in the perſons of the Romane Ambaſſadors, and the *Di-*

Elator Poſthumius ſuffered certaine ſpies to departe, who falſely termed themſelues Ambaſſadors, and did no other harme vnto them. It is not long ſince that there was great courteſie ſhewed to an Ambaſſador of a neighbour Prince, which was diſcouered to haue complotted with the rebells of the Eſtate, for without more adoe he had feare to departe. Yet I aduouch that others haue dealt herein otherwiſe. And the three former examples are of meere curteſie and effects of the Roman generoſitie. King *Frances* the firſt hauing vnderſtood that the Emperor had put vnder cuſtodie the Biſhop of *Tarbis* his Ambaſſador, did the like vnto *Granuelle*, lodging him in the Chaſtelet without dooing him other hurt. And very ſeldome indeed hath that reſpect bin violated, which the law of Nations (I had thought to haue ſaid of Nature) hath imprinted in the mindes of men, ſince the beginning

ning of the world, if it were not peraduenture by a *Clement* the VI. a *Iulius* the II. or ſome ſuch other enemie of the name of *France*, or rather enemie of nature. The one reuiled and impriſoned the Ambaſſadors of *Germany* and *France*, which went in their Maiſters behalfe to offer him ſome good meanes of reconciliation. The other committed to priſon and tortured a Biſhop being an Ambaſſador of *Savoy*, that offered in the behalfe of his Maſter to enterpoſe himſelfe in making peace betweene him and the King of *France*. In ancient times the Romanes contented themſelues to carry vpon them certaine herbs which they called *Sagmina*, whereof they were called *Sancti*, and the Greekes their κηρύκει, as the Heraldes their *Caducei*. This onely marke in thoſe dayes held them inuiolable, and reſpected euen amongſt the very Barbarous nations.

It is true that this reſpect, freedome

and aſſurance which they haue for their Maiſters ſakes, giueth them no libertie to doe euill. *In hoc datum ius gentium, non vt lædant alios, ſed ne ipſi lædantur* : as ſaith a Writer of our time. For hee that hath falſified the publike faith, doth not deſerue that it ſhoulde be kept vnto him; and a colourable Ambaſſage is ſo much the more to be puniſhed, becauſe oftentimes it concerneth the ruine of an Eſtate. And all lawes ordaine, that hee which abuſeth his priuiledge, maketh himſelfe vnworthy therof, and looſeth it. For if hee worketh any plottes or practiſes, either by attempts on the perſon of the Prince to whom hee is ſent, or any enterpriſe vppon his Eſtate, as *Mendoza* did in that of *England*, ſome ſixteene or eighteene years paſt: At other times there was a diſtinction made, if there were but a counſell ſimply giuen, or a conſpiracy made without execution, or elſe if the effect

effect followed thereuppon. Afterwards they would know if hee were abetted in it by his Maiſter or not. The which the Romanes and others did many times put in practiſe, and thoſe which were found to be diſalowed by them, were deliuered and giuen ouer vnto him whom they had offended, or vnto his Maiſter. *Dedebantur ex iure gentium.* In the matter of *Mendoza*, the Queene of *England* laide no hand on him, but gaue him a Congee to departe out of her Realme. This was not done without conſultation taken, whether there were lawe to ſtay him and haue him puniſhed; ſaying, that in vaine, hee putteth himſelfe vnder the ſauegard of nations which violateth the lawe of nations: and there were many examples thereof, or at leaſt if he ſhould be held in ſafe keeping vntil aduiſe had beene giuen, and right required of his Maiſter. They hauing done me the honour to aske my opinion

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on herein, I told them, that the moſt requiſite and ordinary meanes, and ſafeſt for the Eſtate, was to aduertiſe his Maiſter therof, & to expect his allowance or diſallowance; but the Gentleman whom they ſent thither, was neither ſeene nor heard by the King of *Spaine*, whomade himſelfe to be excuſed by his weakenes of body, that he might auoide anſweting thereof: Forаſmuch as his attẽpts of long time plotted againſt *England* were to manifeſt, he would neuer lie nor forſake him whom he had ſet on work. They were alſo aduiſed that the offence was only plotted, not executed, *cœptum non conſummatum*, as the Lawyers ſay. But in this laſt point I would not haue bin his warrant no more then of al others that make the like attempts, who falling into the hands of Princes or Commonweales that are more patient to beare a wrong & leſſe ſtayed, ſhould not eſcape ſo good cheape. For if it be granted

ted by both ciuill and naturalll lawes to reſiſt force with force, if *Lex Talionis* proceede from the law of nature: Yea, if ſuch an enterpriſe had not beene left vnpuniſhed in the very perſonof his Maiſter, if hee had beene preſent as it hath beene ſeene many times: I leaue it to be iudged of, if there were not good reaſon to detaine him, that I may ſay no worſe. Conſidering that rule of the Common law. *Vbi quis deliquit iuriſdictionem eius ſubijſſe intelligitur cuius in ditione deliquit.* He is ſubiect vnto the laws of the Eſtate where the offence is commited, and there is no qualitie nor priuiledge that excuſeth him. Which I affirme although he had ſhewed his maiſters commiſſion for the ſame. And indeede euery man vſeth not in ſuch a matter the patience and prudence of a Romane Senate. For the truth is, that the Ambaſſadour which vnder the title of amitie commeth towards a Prince, that

that is his Maiſters alie : to ſerue him an ill turne, maketh himſelfe culpable and without excuſe : *Bis peccat qui prætexta pietatis peccat :* There being no priuiledge of the law of nations that can warrant him from the ordinary puniſhment of all ſuch as trouble the quiet of any Eſtate. Which I affirm by ſo much the ſtronger reaſon, ſince that *Procopius* in his hiſtorie of the *Gothes* bringeth in *Theodeadus* ſaying vnto the Ambaſſador of *Iuſtinian*, that an attempt againſt the honour of a woman, or an indignitie done vnto a King by an Ambaſſador, deſerueth puniſhment. *Eatenus hac prærogatiua poſſunt vti, quoad ab officio non recedunt. Nam legatum licet occidere ſi in Regem fuit contumelioſus, aut ſi pudicitiam alienæ vxoris contrectauit.* The eaſieſt puniſhment is to expell him, and ſend him home vnto his Maiſter, or to demand Iuſtice to be done after that the crime ſhall be ſufficiently auerred by

by letters or witneſſes, or that the Ambaſſador ſtandeth conuict, by hauing entered into the execution and enterpriſe. Thus many haue dealt as I haue ſaid before, to ſhew themſelues more religious in the preſeruation of a publike and priuiledged perſon, or charitable to render good for euill, as the Great *Africanus* did. Of whom when it was demanded in the open Senate, what ſhould be done vnto the Ambaſſadors of *Carthage*; are anſwered, *Nihil tale quod Carthaginienſes*. Let vs not committe that fault which wee blame in them.

Therefore a wiſe Ambaſſador will not thruſt himſelfe into theſe perils, Neuertheleſſe if he haue a Commandement from his Maiſter to doe it as we ſpake before, concerning deceipt and lies, Shal he be admitted to excuſe himſelfe thereby to iudge of the iuſtneſſe of his Maiſters intentions and of the equitie of his commandements?

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Is it for him to diue into the ſecrets or to controll the pleaſure of his Prince? Heare a good man doth againe finde himſelfe in great doubts what to doe, for if an Ambaſſadour ought to ſet before his eyes, the honour, greatneſſe, profite, and ſeruice of his Lorde, and that by theſe practiſes', ſome ſpeciall ſeruice may be effected for him: It ſeemeth that it is not lawful for him to refuſe his commaundement. This queſtion, me thinks, may be reſolued by the ſolution of ſuch as are made by Philoſophers, Lawyers, and Diuines, concerning the obedience that the childe is bound to render to his father, the ſeruant vnto his Maiſter, the Subiect vnto his Prince, and the Vaſſal to his liege Lord. For all are of accord that this obediēce extendeth not vnto that which is againſt God, Nature, and Reaſon. But to lie, deceiue, betray, to attempt the life of a Soueraine prince, to make his ſubiects to reuolt from him;

him, to weaken and trouble his Eſtate, eſpecially in time of peace, and vnder colour of amitie & alliance is directly againſt the Commaundement of God, againſt the Lawes of Nature, and of Nations; It is a violating of the publike faith, without which, humane ſocietie, and finally the frame of the world would be diſſolued. And the Ambaſſador which ſerueth his Maiſter in ſuch an affaire, committeth a double offence, both for that he ſerueth him in the enterpriſe and execution of ſo ill an action; and for that hee dooth not giue him better counſell which he is bound to doe by the dutie of his charge, which charge comprehendeth the qualitie of a Counſellour of Eſtate for the time of his Ambaſſage, although he had not the honour to be accounted ſo before. The Hiſtory of *France* mentioneth that the *Sieur de Flauij* Gouernor of *Compiſque* for King *Charles* the ſeauenth, ſeeing that

that his Maiſter ſuffred himſelfe to be abuſed by the Duke of *Burgundy*, cauſed the Inhabitantes to enterpoſe themſelues, and by humble demonſtrations refuſed to giue ouer the place vnto the Duke, notwithſtanding a ſecond Commaundement from this King, and inhoneſtly refuſing that vnto his maſter which was preiudicial vnto him, he diſcharged the duty of a faithfull ſeruant. Surely it is a good ſeruice to deny ones Maiſter when hee commaundeth to his hurt: as the one that would aske a ſword to kil himſelf, *Non dare, ſed eripere telum irato, pium eſt.*) But let vs ſpeake the truth, the moſt part of the practiſes that are made vpon adioining eſtates, take ſuch beginning as the Ambaſſadors & Agents themſelues doe giue thereof vnto their Maiſter, they themſelues laying open the means thereunto, and offering themſelues voluntarily to put them in execution. I haue obſerued it

tenne

tenne times in my life, neither are they to complaine when they fall into this laborinth.

Thus much for the publike: but, what if the Ambaſſadour himſelfe hath offered violence to any particular perſon? I know not whether there be any thing determined or ſpecified by the Lawes therein: Yet if extremitie be vſed, he cannot eſcape the rigor of the Lawes of the Countrie where hee committed the fault. His maſter himſelfe, according to the rule aforegoeing, ſhould in like caſe be ordered by iuſtice. For there is a difference to be made between the dignitie of a Prince and his Authoritie. Within the dominions of another Soueraigne, he retaineth but his dignitie: And what honor ſoeuer is done vnto his Perſon, yet there is no authoritie giuen him, to make grauntes, to pronounce decrees, to eſtabliſh Lawes, to ſtampe monie of his owne coine, and ſuch like things

which carry the marke of Soueraine-tie. A neighbour King being fledde for refuge into *France*, did, or ſuffered to be done, ſome violence to a Serge-ant, which went to doe an exploite in his lodging. Had it not beene in re-ſpect of his dignitie, and other reaſons of Eſtate, hee had poſſibly beene o-therwiſe ſpoken withall then hee was. The like, and ſo much the ſtronger reaſon is, for an Ambaſſadour, who is but the Miniſter, and ſubiect of his Prince. But the ſafeſt and fitteſt courſe is, before you require reaſon of him, to demaund it of his Maiſter, who in ſuch a caſe will not denie it ſo ſoone as in a matter of eſtate.

Here falleth out place for a queſti-on which ſome men make, to witte, If by the Law of Nations an Ambaſ-ſador hath iuriſdiction ouer thoſe of his houſe and familie. For which I ſee no likelihood, for the reaſon which I here giue, That the authoritie of a

Prince,

Prince, and all markes of ſouerainetie, do ceaſe in an others dominions. But puniſhment by death is the Soueraine marke of Souerainrie; and to come from the great to the leſſer, the Ambaſſador hath not more right than his Prince or other Soueraine. An Ambaſſador (I neuer name any that I may not wrong his reputation) did runne a hazard in a neere Country. One of his houſhold ſeruants had forced his Daughter, being of the age of fiue or ſixe yeares, he himſelfe cauſed puniſhment to be done, cauſing the ſeruant to be ſtrangled. In *France* the iuſt cauſe of griefe might poſſibly haue excuſed a man of qualitie, for not hauing addreſſed himſelfe to the ordinarie courſe of iuſtice, according to the ſence of the Law, *Iulia de adulterys* in the behalfe of fathers and husbandes that found the adulterers in this act: at leaſt, a pardon or a remiſſion had yeelded reaſon for the ſame. But theſe peo-

ple made much worke about it, ſaying that no man of what qualitie ſoeuer could exerciſe iuſtice, but he to whom the Soueraine committeth it, and they ſaid true: for no Prince, Lord, or gentleman, exerciſeth ſupreame iuſtice in that Countrie: and they ſtood vppon it, that proceſſe ought to be made againſt the Ambaſſador for hauing dared to cauſe a man to be put to death, of his owne priuate authoritie. Neuertheleſſe, the foule offence committed by the ſeruant which was a frenchman and the conſiderations of eſtate, but much more the authority of the prince did ſtoppe their mouthes. The King of *Denmarkes* Ambaſſador vſed altogether an other courſe in *England*: for he demaunded Iuſtice of the Queene, for a Murder committed in his houſe, by one of his owne ſeruants vppon an other of them. She of fauour would not meddle therewith, but permitted him to carry him backe into *Denmarke* to

to haue him there ordered by Iuſtice. Neyther can I allow of the doing of a Spaniſh Ambaſſador at *Venice*, who cauſed a ſeruant of his, to be hanged at his Chamber windowe for ſome great offence, as it was ſaid, although the *Seigneurie* made no ſhew nor purſuite therein: to whom he could and ought to haue addreſſed himſelfe.

That auncient rule therefore ought to take place, *Nulla manus ferrum tractat, niſs quæ ſceptram*, vnleſſe that both the Princes had ſo agreede betweene themſeluesas the ſame might & ought to be done in Eſtates that are far one from the other. For otherwiſe the puniſhment of a crime ſhoulde oftentimes be deferred, and conſequently be neglected, through ſuch a diſtance of place. No otherwiſe than as Captains vpon the Sea, haue ordinarily authoritie from their Soueraines to puniſh the crimes that are committed abord their ſhippes, as other commaunders of the

field, haue authoritie to puniſh offenders in their Armies, although they be in the dominions of other Soueraines. And I haue ſince obſerued, that this is the opinion of *Monſieur Paſchall*, a moſt learned Counſellor of Eſtate, in his booke *de Legato*.

And if ſo be an Ambaſſador hath no iuriſdiction ouer thoſe of his owne houſholde, he hath leſſe ouer the other ſubiects of his Maſter: The kings Ambaſſador in *Swiſſerland* at the beginning of the laſt troubles being aduertized of the practizes which were intended againſt the ſeruice of the king would cauſe one of the debters therein to be ſtayed, who was paſſing to *Soleure*, and pretended the law of Nations, and the freedome of the paſſage. But who doubteth that within his houſe he had not ſufficient authoritie to ſeaze on him, and out of his houſe, to vſe the authoritie of the Magiſtrate vnto the ſame effect? I ſay ſimply, to

ſeaze

ſeaze on him, & not to proceed in Iuſtice againſt him, but to ſend him to his Maiſter, or to hold him vntill hee vnderſtand his pleaſure.

Wee haue before ſpoken of Spies that come vnder the name of Ambaſſadors, or of Ambaſſadors which vnder colour of negotiating ſome affaire, or entertainement of amitie, doe ſpie out the ſecrets of the eſtate to an ill intent, but with thoſe it fareth otherwiſe than with common ſpies, and of ſuch as come without allowance. For being once accepted for Ambaſſadors they are infallibly within the ſanctuarie of the Lawe of Nations, and the conſequence would be moſt dangerous, if a doore were opened vnto ſuch neere inquirets, and ſewe men, and medlers in forraine affaires, would be aſſured in their charges, the moſt part of them being in effect employed therin, but to learne that which is done amongſt others. And ſome call them

alſo honourable Spies alleadging that ſaying of *Chabrias*, Hee is an excellent commander for the warre that knoweth all that is done amongeſt his enemies. And in truth hee cannot be accounted for a true friend which is miſtruſted, and whoſe ſecrets & deſignes a man is conſtrained to eſpie. And to this effect the Hiſtory of *England*, ſayeth that *Henry* the ſeauenth, (a wiſe and diſcreete Prince, and Grand-father to the late Queene) was about to haue diſmiſſed all reſident and ledger Ambaſſadors, and to haue kept none with any other, but death preuented him. We haue alſo ſaide before, that Antiquitie knew them not, and the Hiſtory of *France* noteth that *Lewis* the eleuenth did neuer ſend the ſame Ambaſſador twiſe vnto him whome hee would intertaine with wordes, to the end, that if the former had by chaunce treated of any matter, whereof the effect did not follow, the latter ſhould not

not know what to anſwere thereunto, and that the ignorance of the matter, might ſerue him for an excuſe whereby to gaine time. But we are gon from our matter, wee muſt therefore diſtinguiſh if they be deputies in the behalf of ſome Prouinces that are in ſubiection to a greater Empire, or vnder the protection of an other as thoſe *quæ populi Romani Maieſtatem colere dicebantur*. Or elſe, if they be ſent from a ſoueraine Prince to his equal forme of the firſt caſe they ſhould ſtand more at the mercie of him whom they haue offended. *Nec à ſubditis, nec ſubditos rectè mittuntur legati.* Thoſe are not properly Ambaſſadors whome the Subiects ſend vnto their prince, or hee to them, whereof I ſpake before. I will onely adde a good note that is in *Plutarke* of one of *Sparta* ſent to the Generall of their enemies armie, who being asked in what qualitie he preſented himſelfe. If, ſaith hee, I obtaine that which

which I demaund I come as an Ambaſſador, If not as one priuate, and without charge : I could not forget this wiſe ſpeech, although it be not to our matter.

Let vs now ſee whether the Ambaſſador which paſſeth thorough the Country of a Prince to whom hee is not ſent, may aledge the lawe of Nations. I haue before ſpoken of the *Sieur de Mortefontaine Hotman*, and of his paſſage through the Conntry of *Burgundie*, there was then open warre betweene *France* and *Spaine*, thoſe of the Countrie ſubiectes of the Spaniard, therefore there was no aſſurance for him by that taking courſe; Yea, a third man is not bound to receiue and acknowledge him for an Ambaſſador that paſſeth thorough his Country, to execute his charge in an other place, and if he doth it, it is but of curteſie and humanitie, which is vſed in the behalfe of paſſengers, to whome in

in time of peace all wayes are open. One thing helpeth him, to wit, *Neutralitie*, which notwithſtanding all the warres of former times hath beene entertained and renewed betweene the King and thoſe of the ſaid Country, in fauor and at the requeſt of the Lords of the Cantons, who terme themſelues mediators and protectors of the ſaide *Neutralitie*, whoſoeuer therefore is to paſſe thorough the Country of another, ought to enquire whether the Prince be his Maiſters friend or enemie, if the Country be in peace or in warre, and howſoeuer it be, yet to craue paſſage, and to procure a good paſporte ſufficiently ratified for the ſame, or elſe a good and ſafe conduct. But if notwithſtanding the prohibition that hath beene made him to enter into the Country where hee goeth to execute his charge, he would paſſe on further. We aske if he can ſhield himſelfe with the lawe of nations, whereunto wee

anſwere

anſwere, that ſeeing by the ſame lawe of Nations, and of Nature, euery Colliar is maiſter in his owne houſe, as the ſaying is, and euery Soueraigne in his owne eſtate. Surely he hath full power and libertie to forbid the entrance into his Country to ſuch as hee diſlikeeth, and holdeth for ſuſpected. Neuertheleſſe if he come towards the ſame as a ſuppliant, as the Romane Ladies came vnto *Coriolanus*: *Plato* ſaith, *Omnium tum in ciues tum in peregrinos maximum eſt peccatum cum peccaturus ſupplices, Deus enim afflicti ſupplicis cuſtos eximius.* This humanitie ought in like maner to take place in the behalfe of rebellious and ſeditious ſubiects, at ſuch times as they ordain any amongſt them to make ſubmiſſion and craue pardon for them, or to worke ſome way of reconciliation, following the clauſe and condition of the Romane Senate to thoſe of *Aſcolie*: *Si factorum pœniteat, liciturum ipſis mittere legatos;*

ſui

ſui mimes, minime. But if the number be great, as that in *France* lately was, and that the Eſtate be deuided into two Factions, and each ſide falne into an open warre. Seeing that by martiall lawes euen amongſt ſtrange and barbarous nations.

Heraulds and Ambaſſadors are in ſaftie, ſurely this law ought to preuaile aſwell for deuided ſubiects, as for ſtrangers that are enemies vnto the Eſtate. I dare affirm the like for ſuch as are fugitiues, outlawes, or pirats, when they make a head and ioine themſelues together, as ſometimes thoſe vnder the conduct of *Spartacus*, *Sertorius Viriatus*, *Tacfarinas*, and ſuch like: for, the aſſurance that is granted vnto ſuch perſons as they ordaine to treate for them, is not for their ſakes, but in conſideration of the Common good, and to reduce them to their obedience, to the end that the troubles of the Eſtate may refuſe. *Quod eſt neceſſe, turpe non eſt.*

eſt. Neceſſitie hath neither law nor ſhame
And here it is that that notable and ancient Maxime of eſtate ought to take place. *Salus populi ſuprema lex.* The good of the Eſtate goeth aboue all lawes, and all reſpects: true it is that they ſhall doe well, not to preſent themſelues, but with a ſafficiēt paſport from the Generall of the Armie, with whom they haue to handle. And in this caſe to goe about to attach their perſons, or to doe them other diſpleaſure, were to violate the faith that hath beene giuen them, whatſoeuer *Alber. Gent.* in his treatiſe *de Legationibus* ſaith thereof, contrary to the opinion of my late father in his booke of Notable queſtions.

There is alſo a doubt made concerning thoſe, that are ſent by Heretiques, Schiſmatiques, and excommunicated perſons. This falſe principall, that faith ought not to be kept with heretiques, which was hatched in the

the Counſell of *Conſtance*, and practiſed againſt ſome particular perſons that were cauſed to come thither vnder the publique faith, hath giuen occaſion to this queſtion. For which cauſe it is, that neuer ſince none would truſt the faith of Popes nor of Councels: the onely or principall reaſon of ſchiſme which continueth in the Church ſince almoſt an hundred yeares. But this doubt may be cleered as the former, by the conſideration of the weale publike: for that it is impoſſible that we can abide without thoſe things which are in other Countries and Lands, and much leſſe with that which is amongſt our neighbours, of what religion and beliefe ſoeuer they be. Chriſtian Princes and Eſtates make no difficultie to hold their Agents and Factors with the Turkes when they haue occaſion, and the king keepeth an ordinary & reſident with him. The grand Signior hath his with the

the Perſian, and ſo reciprocally: neuertheleſſe the Turke and the Perſian, hold each other for heretikes. In former times, and very often, the Latine church ſent vnto the Greek, which neuertheleſſe it accounted for ſchiſmatike. At an other time, the Church, being aſſembled in a Counſel of *Affrica* ſent the Deputies vnto the donatiſts. The Catholikes haue them with the Proteſtants, and the Pope would once haue ſent ſome into *England*, and yet would vnto other Proteſtant Eſtates, if he thought they ſhould be receued and be ſuffred to manage his affaires among them. And if they were admitted, they ſhuld be without doubt vnder the ſafeguard of Nations: as wel as theſe which ſhould be ſent vnto him in their behalfe.

Concerning theſe that are ſubiects of the Prince or Eſtate to whom they goe in Ambaſſage, it is another matter: for although they haue put themſelues

ſelues vnder another Maſter, or haue gotten the freedome of Deniſons in other places, yet are they thereby nothing leſſe the ſubiects of their naturall Lord, nor any thing leſſe to be ordred by iuſtice by him, if haply they haue gone out of his dominions without his leaue, or for ſome offence or rebellion. King *Perceus* ſent vnto *Gentius* King of *Illyria*, one that was naturall borne ſubiect of *Illyria*. A Lieutenant of the Popes, in ſome part of the iuriſdiction of the Church, held priſoner the Duke of *Vrbins* Ambaſſador; becauſe, ſaid he, the Ambaſſador was the Popes ſubiect. And in our Fathers dayes, *Frances Sforza* Duke of *Millan* cauſed the Eſquier *Merueilles*, a ſubiect of *Millan*, who hauing retired himſelfe into *France*, was ſent Ambaſſador to the Duke, by King *Frances*, to be beheaded, as before I noted: It was indiſcretion in theſe three Princes, to employ ſuch men in that charge, and

folly in the men to accept the ſame, for to all three it fell out ill. Neuertheleſſe the King had reaſon to complaine, and to require right to be done him therein: for *Sforza* hauing once admitted and receiued *Merueilles* for Ambaſſador of *France*, as the King ſufficiently verified it by a letter of the ſaid *Sforzas*, it was no longer lawfull for him to handle him as his ſubiect, and did therin againſt the law of Nations. In like manner was it with two others, vnder *Charles* the ſixt, the Conſtable *Cliſſon* ſubiect to the duke of *Britaine*, truſting thereunto, went vnto him in an ill ſeaſon, and thought to haue loſt both life and libertie together: the Duke hauing afterwards ſet him at liberty, purged and iuſtified himſelfe vppon the qualitie of the ſaid *Cliſſon*, which he affirmed was a Britton by birth, and his naturall ſubiect. And beſides he would that the King ſhould owe him a like requitall, for the reſpect which he had of

of one of his officers, ſeeing that otherwiſe hee pretended to haue had good reaſon to put him to death. But *Philip* the Faire ſent backe thoſe whom the Earle *Guy* of *Flanders* had ſent vnto him, to offer him choice of peace or warre: although that their Maiſter and themſelues were his ſubiects, as the ſaid King did not forget to tell them.

I will ſpeake nothing heere of the grand Signior, who not long ſince offered himſelf to put to death the Ambaſſador of a Chriſtian Prince, for to doe that Prince a pleaſure, as hee ſaid: becauſe the ſaid Ambaſſadour had done his Maiſter ſome ill offices, and had correſpondency with his enimies. Neyther was the offer accepted becauſe it might haue brought much preiudice by the conſequence thereof.

His Familie.

AND becauſe wee haue comprehended his ſeruantes vnder his priuileges, we wil ſpeake a word thereof. In former times the number of thoſe that accompanied him in his ambaſſage was certaine and prefixed, and their names regiſtred vppon his proviſion, or ſet on a liſt for to haue recourſe thereunto. Theſe ought to enioy their maſters priuiledge as thoſe that in time of warre are comprehendedwithin one paſſeport or ſafe conduct. But it being now left to the diſcretion of the Ambaſſador, to take as many as he will, it is demanded, if al ought to participate thereof; I make no doubt of it, foraſmuch as concerneth the aſſurance of their perſons, *Quod ad legatos comitéſue attinet, ſi quis eorum, quem pulſiſſe, ſiue iniuriam feciſſe*

ciſſe arguitur, lege Iulia, de vi publica tenetur, as ſaith a Law of the digeſts, the which extendeth the puniſhment vnto thoſe that haue outraged the ſeruants of the Ambaſſador, as if they had done it to his own perſon. And in truth the priuiledge of an Ambaſſadeur were very ſlender, if it did not comprehend the perſons of thoſe of his family. I ſay of his familie. For there are ſome that paſſe many times vnder the fauor and paſſe-porte of the Ambaſſador, which would not be in any great aſſurance, if they were diſcouered, although they were advouched by him, eſpecially if they be of another Nation than himſelfe, or the ſubiects of that Prince vnto whome hee goeth.

Beſides it ought not to be doubted that the houſe of an Ambaſſadour is a ſanctuarie and place of retraite to his ſeruants and followers, againſt all iniuries and violences : prouided that

they doe nothing againſt the lawes of the Country where they are, and againſt publike honeſtie. For that which is not permitted to the Maiſter, much leſſe is vnto his ſeruants. And yet neuertheles I think not that without the permiſſion of the Ambaſſador it is lawfull for a Sergeant or other officer of iuſtice, to lay hands on, ceaze vpon, or to vſe any other courſe of iuſtice vpon any of thoſe of his houſe, vnleſſe that they be tooken in the very act and out of his houſe. For which cauſe the Ambaſſador of *Spaine* had reaſon to complaine of the officers of *Tunis*, which were come to carry away by force a ſeruant of his being accuſed of Sodomitry, alleadging that they had no iuriſdiction vpon him or any of his : and added, that that crime was not capitall in all countries, for if the Tuniſians had taken his ſeruant they would haue proceeded againſt him and cauſed him to be burned quicke,

quicke, according to the lawes of their Country.

And concerning taxes, impoſitions, and other charges and contributions: I doubt not but they are exempted from them aſwell as their Maiſter in the Country where he is reſident, and as long as they are his ſeruants; I meane, in reſpect of their horſes, apparrell, and baggage, Prouided, they doe not abuſe this priuiledge to make Merchandiſe, or to make other mens goods to paſſe vnder the colour of their priuiledge, as *Guicciardin* ſaith, was done by certaine Deputies of *Florence*, ſent to the Emperor *Charles* the fift; being thē at *Bologne* with the pope who receued therfore both ſhame and puniſhment all at once. And the law of the Digeſts willeth that for that which they bring out of their country beſides their mouables, they ſhuld pay the impoſt thereof. Neuertheles in this whole priuiledge they muſt order themſelues

according to the particular vſe and cuſtome of the places. For if it were ſaid that none ſhould be exempted, of what condition or qualitie ſoeuer he were, certainly neither hee nor his ſeruants, ſhould be more priuiledged than others : it being beſides ſufficiently knowen that Ambaſſadors and other forraigne perſonages are more fauourably intreated in one place than in an other.

Thus much for the country, wherin their Maiſter is reſident, and onely during the time of his Ambaſſage, and which is generally of the Law of Nations, and common vnto all Ambaſſadours, and their ſeruants. But concerning the exemptions, immunities, priuiledges, & prerogatiues which an Ambaſſadour enioyeth in his owne Country, by the conſent of his Prince or of the chiefe Magiſtrate : the ſame commeth from the Lawe Ciuill and that of the place it ſelfe: and it is not of one

one ſorte in all places, and ſtretcheth not ſo farre as vnto ſeruants. For I think it not reaſon to grant vnto them, letters of Eſtate (as they are termed) and of reſpite againſt their Creditors, and to cauſe any actions or proceſſe that hath beene commenced againſt them, ſince their departure, and in reſpect of their abſence, to ceaſe, or be adiourned as vnto their Maiſter himſelfe: neither is there like conſideration for it. No otherwiſe than the ſeruant of an officer, or one of the Kings houſe, or of the chiefe Prince of the blood who hath his cauſes committed vnto the maſters of the Requeſts hath no part in the priuiledge of his Maiſter. The like I affirme concerning all other exemptions, as taxes and ſuch like charges, which are priuileges granted vnto the perſon of the Ambaſſador, and not to his ſeruants and followers, who are, or ought to be paide and rewarded with their Maiſters purſe, and

and whome hee may either leaue or change at his pleaſure.

Neuertheleſſe reaſon requireth that I take out of this number, thoſe that are adioyned vnto him by the Prince, or ſuch other perſons of qualitie whom himſelfe hath choſen for to accompany him, and ſerue him in the affaires of his Ambaſſage, and without whom hee cannot ſufficiently performe the ſame. Vnto them I alſo adde the Secretary and the Interpreter, which are neceſſary Inſtruments vnto him, and which ſerue rather the Ambaſſage then the Ambaſſador, as amongſt the Swiſers and Griſons, where the ſaide Secretaries and Interpreters are enrowled in the accompt of the penſions of that Nation, and receiue the ordinary wages of a crowne by the day. But yet to giue aſſurance of their actuall ſeruice, they ſhall doe well to take a certificate or atteſtation of the Ambaſſador, ſigned with his hand, that it may

may ſtand them in ſteade when time and place ſhall require.

All this is founded on naturall reaſon, and on the rule of that common equity, which euen children know by hart: That abſence ought not to preiudice him which is imployed out of his Country for the ſeruice of his Prince or Commonwealth. *Abſens reip: cauſa præſens eſſe cenſetur.*

And by the ſame equitie, and to the end alſo, that the Ambaſſadour might not be withdrawne from his charge, and conſtrained to returne into his Country about his ſuites of law, no man can commence any new action, either Reall or Perſonall againſt him, and a ceſſation was granted vnleſſe the cauſe had bin before declared againſt him, in which caſe he appointed an Aduocate to pleade for him.

Concerning his Horſes, Mooueables, and vtenſils: they are, by the ſame rule, comprehended vnder this priuiledge,

ledge, and I doe not belieue that it is lawfull, by reaſon of any debt or obligation to enter into the Ambaſſadors houſe, and to make an attachment or ſale of his Moueables and Horſes, ſince that I haue before ſhewed that euen in criminall cauſes there ought to be vſed herein both reſpect and diſcretion. The accident which lately befell in *Spaine*, in the French Ambaſſadors houſe, giueth vs a proofe therof, which in a more doubtful time had beene the occaſion of a greater trouble. And for Ciuil reſpects, it behoueth thoſe which bargaine with them to take good heede thereunto, foraſmuch as moſt commonly they are conſtrained to attend vntill the Ambaſſage be expired; & it hapneth vnto them, as vnto al others that haue bargained with one that is in his none-age, or with ſome priuiledged perſon, of whoſe eſtate & condition, they ought not to be ignorant. It is true that the Ciuil law diſtinguiſheth

guiſheth betweene contracts made before, or during the time of their Ambaſſage,& that which he had promiſed to pay in the place of his reſidence,and at the time of his continuance there, which they called *Conſtituta pecunia.* I ſpeake of Contracts for money and payments;for it doth not often happen that an Ambaſſador maketh any purchaſe of houſe, lands, and poſſeſſions, in the Country where he is, or that he there contracteth himſelfe in Marriage : Euen as it was not permitted vnto thoſe whom the Romanes ſent for gouernours into their Prouinces, to make purchaſes there, or to marry themſelues. For thereby they might be ſuſpected of the one and the other. A French Gentleman that would haue maried the Queene of *Walachia*, did put himſelfe into great danger,for he went about it without acquainting his Maiſter, and without leaue of the grand Signior, who was much offended

ded therewith. And to returne to the matter of debts and obligations, the Creditors muſt onely addreſſe themſelues by petition vnto the Prince or Soueraine Magiſtrate, without whoſe permiſſion, in ſuch cauſes nothing can be effected. *Manus regia ius facit in omni legatorum negotio.* For if the Ambaſſadors or his followers might not be ordered by law, no man would euer lend vnto them, neither woulde any man haue any longer to doe with them: the Maiſter himſelfe would finde the hurt thereof when his ſeruice ſhould be left vndone for this occaſion. And farther, it is without reaſon that they ſhould make their profite of an other mans harme. Which would ſo be if they were not bound to render and to make payment. Therefore in bargaining they ought to be ſubiect to the iuriſdiction of the place where they are, which I haue before ſaide, taketh place in the crimes and offences which

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an Ambaſſador or his ſeruants doe commit.

I haue obſerued two other antient priuileges: the one, that the chaines of gold and other gifts and preſents that had bin giuen vnto them in regarde of their Ambaſſage ſhould remaine vnto themſelues, and I beleeue that no man would now make any queſtion thereof, prouided that it be without ſuſpition, and in ſuch ſort as I haue before ſhewed. For the inciuilitie & barbarouſneſſe of the Duke of *Moſcouie* is not to be approoued, who taketh away, not onely the habites and ornaments which hee giueth them at their departure, but alſo the giftes and preſents which haue beene beſtowed vpon them in their Ambaſſage, which he conuerteth to his owne profit. It is true that the Muſcouites are not ſimply ſubiects, (as thoſe which were in *England* in the behalfe of their Prince about 18. yeares paſt did ſhewe vnto mee)

me) but ſlaues vnto their Prince. The other antient aduantage of Ambaſſadours is that it was permitted vnto them to repoſe themſelues after their returne without being conſtrained to be charged with any buſineſſe or office of the Commonwealth. For as for the charge of wardſhip, and ſuch like, A man is diſcharged of it vpon a leſſe occaſion.

Finally, he begins to inioy his priuileges, not only from the day of his arriual, but euen from the day of his nomination to the charge, as alſo his returne was not coũted at the prefixed inſtant but after he had made his reporte *& cum laxamento temporis*, as they vſe to ſay: becauſe that as odious matters are reſtrained, euen ſo fauourable matters are fauourably extended, and for that alſo it is for the good of the Eſtate to be fully informed of the negotiation of an Ambaſſador. And this his returne doth no longer depend vppon his

his will, but on the reuocation, a Commaundement of his Maiſter, if hee would not be accounted one that forſaketh his place, as a ſouldier that departeth from the ſentinell without being relieued or that leaueth his colours without his Captaines permiſſion. And ſuch Ambaſſadours in ancient times, were depriued of their wages, priuiledges and allowances: and with all, hazarded their liues. Nor knowe I any ſufficient excuſe for him that leaueth his charge without hauinghad commandement therefore, if he happen to ſtand in danger of his life thereby, as it many times falleth out: vnleſſe he were driuen away by force, or by the authority of him, about whom he executed his charge: or that there chanced ſuch and ſo ſodaine trouble or alteration in the Eſtate that hee could no longer remaine; or that the Prince, with whom he was reſident ſhould on a ſodaine denounce open warre a-

gainſt his Maiſter, in which caſe the law forbids them to receiue any giftes or preſents. Yet I would haue him, if poſſibly he could, to make ſtay on the frontires, whereby to take time to aduertiſe his Maiſter thereof that he may not ſodainly ſurprize him, or giue him an vnexpected alarum of his returne, which is a raſh attempt, that all Princes take not in ſporte. In a popular Eſtate or vnder a ſeuere and ſharpe Prince, they are in danger of puniſhment for the ſame. But as ſoone as he is reuoked, his authoritie is at an end. For which cauſe *Monſieur de Grannelle* refuſed to reade the letter of defiance which King *Francis* the firſt had vnderwritten, to be ſent to his Maiſter the Emperour *Charles*, alleadging for excuſe that he was no longer Ambaſſadour, for that he had receiued commaundement to take leaue and to depart.

FINIS.

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Fragile

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